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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1747



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CEAUSESCU RECEIVES WARSAW PACT MEETING PARTICIPANTS

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 1 Nov 79 p 1

[Text] On 31 October Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, supreme commander of the armed forces of the Socialist Republic of Romania, held a reception for the participants in the session of the Military Council of the Joint Armed Forces of the member states of the Warsaw Pact, which took place in Bucharest.

The following attended the reception: marshal of the Soviet Union V. G. Kulikov, commander-in-chief of the Joint Armed Forces; general of the army A. I. Gribkov, chief of the general staff of the Joint Armed Forces; Colonel General A. G. Semerdzhiev, first deputy minister of people's defense of the Bulgarian People's Republic, chief of the general staff of the Bulgarian People's Army; Colonel General Karel Rusov, chief of the general staff of the Czechoslovak People's Army, first deputy minister of national defense of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic; Colonel General Fritz Streletz, deputy minister of people's defense, chief of the main general staff of the National People's Army of the German Democratic Republic; general of arms Eugeniusz Molczyk, principal inspector for instruction, vice minister of national defense of the Polish People's Republic; Colonel General Marin Nicolescu, deputy minister of national defense of the Socialist Republic of Romania; Colonel General Karoly Csemi, state secretary in the Ministry of Defense of the Hungarian People's Republic; marshal of the Soviet Union K. S. Moskalenko, deputy minister of defense of the USSR; marshal of the air force A. I. Koldunov, commander of the anti-aircraft defense troops of the member states of the Warsaw Pact, deputy commander-in-chief of the Joint Armed Forces; air force Colonel General A. N. Katrich, deputy commander-in-chief of the Joint Armed Forces for military air forces; Admiral V. V. Mihailin, deputy commander-in-chief of the Joint Armed Forces for the maritime military fleet; Colonel General I. A. Fabrikov, deputy commander-in-chief of the Joint Armed Forces for equipment, chief of the technical command of the Joint Armed Forces.

Colonel General Ion Coman, candidate member of the Political Executive Committee of the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee, minister of national defense, participated in the reception.

During the meeting, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed the importance of the continued development of friendship and cooperation among the member states of the Warsaw Pact, among the armies of these countries, as well as the need to consolidate the trend toward detente, security and peace and the efforts to halt the arms race, to reduce military expenditures, to achieve disengagement and disarmament, and, especially nuclear disarmament, without which detente and peace, both in Europe and throughout the world, cannot be conceived. The meeting took place in a warm, comradely atmosphere.

CSO: 2700

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

ROMANIAN-ALBANIAN AIR ROUTE--In the first part of November, TAROM [Romanian Air Transport] inaugurated two air routes. The first, an international route, goes from Bucharest to Tirana to Rome and the second, a domestic route, goes from Bucharest to Caransebes. With the opening of the Bucharest-Tirana-Rome air route, the capital of our country has air connections with 38 large cities in Europe, North America, Asia and Africa and the air routes cover a distance of more than 120,000 km. Also, within the country, TAROM aircraft link Bucharest with 15 political-economic and social centers in various counties. The expansion of the air transport service is the result of the fact that during the current five-year plan TAROM has been equipped with a large number of modern, high-capacity aircraft as well as with navigational and technical personnel with a high level of professional training, which they update periodically in the instruction center of the Department of Civil Aviation. [Text] [Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 14 Nov 79 p 5]

CSO: 2700

ALBANIA

SHEHU SPEECH ON 35TH ANNIVERSARY OF LIBERATION

AU041039 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 29 Nov 79 pp 1-5 AU

[Speech delivered by Mehmet Shehu, chairman of the Albanian Council of Ministers and AWP Central Committee Politburo member, at meeting held in Tirana on 28 November 1979 to mark 35th anniversary of the country's liberation from the fascist occupiers and the triumph of the people's revolution]

[Text] Dear comrades, brothers and sisters and dear friends: Today our people are celebrating the great jubilee, the 35th anniversary of the country's liberation from the fascist occupiers and the triumph of our people's revolution. November 29, 1944 marked the decisive turning point in the destinies of the Albanian people: Albania was liberated from the rule of foreigners and the exploiting classes, established the people's regime--which from the outset carried out the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat--broke away from the capitalist system and began on the road to socialism.

In our country the people's regime was born by the barrel of a gun. The national liberation struggle and its foundations were cemented by the blood of our many martyrs. Nobody offered us our freedom. We won it with blood, with our own forces alone, without the need for the armies of the allies of that time to come directly to our aid on Albanian soil. Our greatest respect is now directed to all those who fell on the battlefield for the country's freedom and independence and our people's revolution, as well as to those who sacrificed their lives for the building of socialism and the country's defense after the liberation.

In celebrating the 35th anniversary of the new socialist Albania and the 67th anniversary of the proclamation of independence, our party and people recall with profound respect all the fighters, patriots and revolutionaries of the renaissance, rifle and pen who did not spare their efforts, nor their life and blood, for the country's freedom and progress, and for the interests and the good of the people.

In the 35th anniversary of their free and happy life our people see the fulfillment of their best wishes and aspirations which became a reality as a result of their struggle, work, blood and sweat under the leadership of our glorious party headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Comrades, I wish you a happy, always happy great holiday: A happy 35th anniversary of new Albania, the invincible fortress of socialism and victorious Marxism-Leninism!

Together with us, all our brother Albanians who live abroad are celebrating the 28th and 29th November with all their hearts and souls because we all have one mother--mother Albania, the long-suffering Albania, the indomitable, heroic and radiant Albania. The innumerable friends and well-wishers of Albania in all countries of the world are also rejoicing together with us today. From this solemn meeting we send them our ardent greetings and sincere gratitude for their love and pure and benevolent feelings and for their solidarity with and support for the new socialist Albania.

#### A Splendid Balance Sheet of Successes and Victories

Comrades, we are celebrating the great jubilee of the 35th anniversary of the country's liberation and the triumph of our people's revolution in the background of those radical transformations in every field of life which have completely changed the landscape of preliberation Albania. We emerged from the centuries-old darkness to the unfailing light of socialism and are now enjoying our freedom and independence, the happy life, the prosperous and always prospering fatherland.

The former Albania of Zog's regime of the middle ages ruled by beys, landlords, traders and gendarmes, where the peasants and workers were savagely oppressed and exploited and despised by the ruling classes, has now become the free country of the men of work where the working class is in power, the country of the dictatorship of the proletariat which reflects and defends the interest of all the workers, the country where exploiting classes no longer exist because they have been overthrown and wiped out through struggle, the country where private property and the exploitation of man by man have been done away with and the country with the most advanced social order in the world where the lofty ideals of scientific socialism have been and are being achieved.

The war destroyed everything, exacted a heavy toll in blood and reduced to dust and ashes even those cottages and few possessions that we had. No people emerged from the second world war with greater devastation than the Albanian people. However, we gained what is dearest--true and permanent freedom, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the socialist road.

The Communist Party of Albania (now the workers party), founded in the flame of the war, reared in permanent struggle, founded and always led with boundless loyalty and rare mastery by Comrade Enver Hoxha, brought us our freedom. Without the party, we would have remained in bondage for ever. With the party and under its leadership, we gained everything we are enjoying today. We overcame and will overcome all the difficulties and enemies and will enjoy everything good in the future. Eternal glory to our heroic party, loyal to the end to Marxism-Leninism! Glory to the founder and leader of

our party, the great son of our people, the faithful continuer of the work of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and our heartily beloved Comrade Enver Enver Hoxha!

[AU041200] Soon after the partisan struggle against the foreign invaders and traitors of the country was over, as soon as Albania was liberated, the party and Comrade Enver voiced the call for another struggle to rebuild the country and to heal the serious wounds of the war. And the people all rose and joined the new struggle with all their forces. We had to work under extremely hard conditions, barefeet, without clothes and with tight belt but always with the pick and rifle in hand to rebuild the country until we managed to create conditions for getting new Albania on the road of 5-year plans.

The first 5-year plan was the one from 1951-55. It is 29 years since that time that we have been working and building according to 5-year plans. In this period, Albania, the most backward country in Europe, has now changed from a primitive agricultural country into an agricultural-industrial nation and it is confidently marching on the road of being transformed into an advanced industrial--agricultural country.

During the six 5-year plans, our people's economy--now a completely socialist economy--has developed at high pace which one can hardly find in any other country. During the 29-year period, 1951-1979, the average annual growth rates of our people's economy were: Overall social production, 8.7 percent; national income, 7.4 percent; overall industrial production, 12.4 percent; overall agricultural production, 5 percent; and state investments, 9.2 percent. In 1979, compared with 1978, the overall social production is expected to increase by over 10 percent, the overall industrial output by over 9 percent, the overall agricultural production by over 12 percent and the national income by over 15 percent.

In 1960 Krushchev said that Albania would die of starvation without the Soviet Union. However, facts show that during the 17-year period, 1961-1977, while the average growth rate of overall industrial output in Albania--without aid of the Soviet Union--was 9 percent; in CEMA countries, it was 8.7 percent; in West European countries, 3.8 percent; and in the United States, 4.5 percent. And during the 13-year period, 1963-1976, the overall industrial production in Albania grew at an annual average of 5.2 percent, while in CEMA countries the growth was only 2.6 percent, in West European countries 1.8 percent and in the United States 2.2 percent (1963 was used as the annual average for the 1961-1965 5-year period).

It is known that the annual birth rate in Albania is higher than in any other European country. It is also known that the ratio between the growth of the main indices of material production and the birth rate of a country also shows the trend of the development and the well-being of that country. From 1950 to the present the overall social production in socialist Albania

has increased 3.2 times faster than the population growth, the national income has increased 2.7 times faster, the overall industrial output has increased 4.6 times faster, the overall agricultural production about 2 times faster and so forth. No CEMA country, no any other capitalist country, has had such a growth ratio. Even these few figures speak clearly of the superiority of our socialist order over the capitalist order.

We have established a complex multibranch industry that is based on the natural resources and raw materials of the country. This new industry has, thus, become the backbone of our economy and the powerful base of constantly expanded socialist reproduction.

In our country the overall industrial output is now, in 1979, 125 times larger than in 1938 and about 5 times larger than in 1960 when the Krushchevites "predicted" that we would go bankrupt. This bankruptcy did not occur. In 1979, compared with 1960, the coal industry has grown about 4.6 times, the chrome industry about 4.5 times, the copper industry about 28 times and so forth.

We are now extracting oil from our own territory and we have developed our oil industry to such a degree that we not only meet all the needs of the people's economy for oil products, but we also export these products. From an exporter of only raw materials in the past, Albania has now reached the stage where about 60 percent of its exports are finished products.

Our industry now has powerful combines, including the "Steel of the Party" metallurgical combine in Elbasan which produces over 50 types of steel from iron-nickel ores and which will soon also produce nickel; the "Enver Hoxha" autotractor combine which has begun producing tractors and trucks; the textile combines which meet all the country's needs and also produce textiles for export; the foodstuff combines and hundreds of plants and factories, mines and industrial enterprises which set the pace for all the people's economy.

[AU031310] Albania, which in the past knew of nothing other than the oil lamp, the candle and pine wood pieces as means of light, has now become the country of electricity. Our electric industry now has a relatively powerful network of hydroelectric power stations, including the Vau i Dejes and Fierze "Party Light" hydroelectric power stations which can be compared with the largest hydroelectric power stations of Europe. The Fierze hydroelectric power station alone has a 500,000 kilowatt operating capacity and is one of the most powerful hydroelectric power stations, with the highest dam in Europe. It was planned and built by our engineers, specialists and workers. With the concrete, the stones and the earth used for building the dam and other projects of the Fierze hydroelectric power station one could build a wall, encompassing all the land and sea territory of Albania with a length of about 1,000 kilometers, 3 meters wide and 3 meters high. Construction has just started on the Komani hydroelectric power project, which will be even more powerful than the Fierze hydroelectric power station.

Our country is now producing about 80 percent of the electricity supply from hydroelectric power resources and only 20 percent is being supplied by the thermoelectric power stations. We supply our country's entire electricity needs and we also export electricity.

Our machine-building industry not only has the capacity to maintain the existing motor pool, meeting 95 percent of the country's needs for spare parts, but it has also turned into a real industry for producing machinery also capable of building complete industrial plants and factories.

A sound base has been established for a rapid development of the chemical industry, high grade oil refining and improving the quality of oil and gas, introduction of chemicals in agriculture and increasingly meeting the country's needs for various chemical products. We meet all our requirements for chemical fertilizers from the production of our own chemical plants.

Our new industry engaged in producing consumer goods, together with agriculture, has managed to satisfy over 85 percent of the needs of our people for such goods.

In former Albania grain was so rare it was known as the "legend of corn." Albania has now become a country of large-scale socialist agriculture. As a result of the cooperative system, the self-denying efforts of the toiling peasantry and the comprehensive assistance provided by the socialist state, our agriculture has made great progress and life in our countryside has been radically transformed.

Only about 15 percent of the republic's area is level, whereas 85 percent of the area is hilly and mountainous. And only 40 percent of the arable land is level, while 60 percent is hilly and mountainous. Nevertheless, socialization covers not only the plains, but also the mountainous area, our entire agricultural activity is socialist. About 25 percent of the overall agricultural production is accounted for by the state sector, while 75 percent is accounted for by the cooperative sector.

Although we are a mountainous country, our agriculture today produces about five times more breadgrains than prewar production. Compared with 1960, agricultural production in 1979 is about three times higher. Today we produce all our bread at home, have insured an increase in breadgrain reserves and even export a little grain. Our agriculture also exports some of its products. In addition to producing all the breadgrain, agriculture also provides about 85 percent of the needs of the people with other food products.

The state has spent huge funds, billions of leks, to reclaim all the marshes--which in the past covered all the country's plains--and turn them into grain producing land, as well as to reclaim new land also in the mountainous areas and turn it into farmland. It has built an entire irrigation

system which now regularly irrigates 53 percent of the arable area. This puts Albania first in Europe regarding the percentage of arable area under irrigation.

Regarding land amelioration and irrigation, over 32,000 kilometers of canals have been built and over 390 million cubic meters of earth have been removed by the state alone, without calculating the work performed by the agricultural cooperatives. The water pumping system alone has an immediate water pulling capacity of 230 cubic meters per second, or equal to the combined flow of the river Drin and Vjose in the summer season. This is a huge job for a small country like Albania.

Our agriculture now has at its disposal a relatively powerful motor pool of agricultural machinery. Industry is supplying agriculture with a considerable quantity of chemical fertilizers. Today we use more than 145 kilograms of active fertilizers per hectare, as against less than 3 kilograms per hectare which we used in 1950, industry is also supplying agriculture with a considerable quantity of insecticides, pesticides, herbicides and so forth.

Against the background of the deep food crisis experienced by a large number of countries of the capitalist world and the subsequent failures which the revisionist countries have suffered in agriculture causing them to have become the largest importers of grain in the world make the great successes achieved by our socialist agriculture shine all the more.

[AU041325] Ours is a stable economy with great prospects. It does not know the incurable ills of capitalism, such as crises, inflation, rising prices, unemployment and so on.

Under the party's leadership, Albania has become a totally independent and sovereign country. Albania also enjoys total independence in the economic and military spheres. Albania is a country that is building socialism by relying solely on its own efforts, without any aid or credits from abroad. Albania is the only country in the world that has no foreign or internal debts. The granting of concessions and the creation of foreign companies or other economic and financial institutions, or of companies and institutions jointly with capitalist, bourgeois and revisionist monopolies and states, and the taking of credits from them, is prohibited by constitutional law.

Formerly illiterate Albania is today a country of mass education, a country where one of every three or four people is studying and where education is free for all. Compared with 380 cadres with higher education that Albania had in 1938, or with 4,245 in 1960, Albania had over 40,000 cadres with higher education in 1978; 8-year education is compulsory and secondary education is rapidly becoming universal. The culture and art of socialist realism are flourishing and have become the spiritual food of our new man.

A profound ideological revolution has taken place over these past 35 years and has radically transformed the spiritual life of our people. Together with the masses, the party has waged a consistent struggle to eradicate the old backward customs, the religious, feudal and patriarchal ideology, petty bourgeois psychology and other vestiges alien to socialism. Albania is the only country in the world that does not recognize any religion and that supports and develops atheist propaganda to implant in people the scientific materialistic world outlook, as is defined in our constitution. Our heroic youth, educated by the party, has always been in the vanguard of the struggle to wipe out religious institutions and practices.

An entire revolution has also taken place in our country for the emancipation of women, to give them equal rights with men, in society, in the family, at work, in education, everywhere. Women in our country work and militate with dignity on all great fronts of socialist construction and defense. Women currently constitute 46 percent of the total number of workers actively participating in the construction of socialism. In agriculture and in education and culture they represent about 52 percent of the total number of working people in each of these sectors; in the health sector they represent 79 percent of all working people; in the trade sector 54 percent and so forth. Women and girls in our country are to be found not only as ordinary workers and cooperativists, but also as managers and leaders at all levels of the economy, the state and the party, up to and including the Central Committee, the People's Assembly and the Council of Ministers.

The communist education carried out by the party with the greatest possible care has imbued our people with a new morality, with new socialist features. The creation of the new man constitutes the greatest victory of the party and of the dictatorship of the proletariat because it is precisely our new man, politically and ideologically enlightened, loyal to the end to the party's line and devoted to the cause of socialism and the country's defense to the point of sacrifice, who is a guarantor insuring the continuation of the construction of socialism in Albania and preventing the tragedy that occurred in the Soviet Union and elsewhere--the restoration of capitalism--from ever happening in Albania. The creation of the new man also insures that Albania will progress on the path of socialism and communism even in the most difficult conditions of encirclement and blockade.

The people's power eliminated unemployment for the very beginning, whereas in the capitalist bourgeois and revisionist world it is an incurable disease causing misery and bitterness for the masses. All able-bodied people are engaged in socially useful work in our society. On the average, there are two or three people working in every urban family of four or five people. The same applies to the countryside.

All kinds of indirect taxes have disappeared in our country and medical care is free for all and has been extended to the most remote villages; while there was only one physician for every 3,360 inhabitants in 1960, we had one physician for every 687 inhabitants in 1978, although the

population has increased at a rapid pace. The natural population growth in our country is three and one-half times higher than the annual average in the European countries, while the mortality rate in 1978 was 37 percent lower than the average mortality rate in the European countries and the average life expectancy of our people rose from 38 years in 1938 to 69 years in 1978. This means that throughout the existence of the people's regime, the average life expectancy of people in our country has risen on average 11 months annually. This is what socialism does for people: Is there any higher humanism than socialist humanism which doubles the average life expectancy of the entire population of a country within 35 years?

The establishment of social insurance and of pensions of all urban and rural working people is another great victory of the people's regime, showing the party's care for the people. About 70 percent of our country's population is currently living in new houses and apartments built since the liberation and the rents of state dwellings in our country are extremely low, almost symbolic. When natural disasters like earthquakes and floods occur in our country, the consequences are eliminated with state funds, as happened this year in the case of the 15 April earthquake.

[AU041427] Not only has the antagonistic contradiction between the city and the countryside been eliminated during the years of the people's regime, but important measures have also been implemented, which have considerably narrowed the former differences in their way of life. The electrification of all the villages of Albania, the construction of a broad network of roads, the extension of the telephone network to every village, not to mention schools, cultural centers, the health service, the trade network, communal services and so forth--all this is a historic victory for our countryside.

Our socialist system has secured working conditions and benefits for the workers that are sanctioned in the labor code and other legislation in force, and for which the working class in the capitalist world is compelled to wage a bitter and continuous struggle against the bourgeoisie and its savage exploitation. Such benefits are: Paid annual leave for workers to pursue studies in conjunction with work; additional leave for those working in difficult sectors, legislation prohibiting women and children from being allocated heavy work damaging to their health; legislation guaranteeing payment of wages to the workers when work is interrupted through no fault of their own; paid maternity leave for a period of 12-15 weeks; and so forth. The state's responsibility for all sociocultural measures in the countryside, the granting of pensions to members of co-operatives, the unification of these pensions with those of the workers at a later date, the increase of the real per capita income in the countryside at a higher rate than the increase of real per capita income in the cities and so forth--all this, in addition to the comprehensive aid given by the state to increase agricultural produce and strengthen the cooperativist system, which constitutes the major effort in raising the well-being of the peasantry, these were the paths that have been and are being followed

in our country to continually narrow the gap between the cities and the countryside.

Not only has socialist Albania an independent and stable economy, but it also has a powerful defense capable of meeting any threat of aggression from outside, no matter where it may come from. Educated by the party in accordance with Lenin's teachings that every citizen should also be a soldier and that every soldier should also be a citizen, and implementing the party's military line, our military art of people's warfare, which is totally contrary to the bourgeois and revisionist military art, and our armed people are prepared in every way to defend their freedom and the victories of socialism against all enemies and to transform their soil at any time into a mortal abyss which will suck in and destroy any aggressor who dares attack us.

The magnificent successes and victories of socialist Albania during these 35 years of freedom, independence and socialist construction are a living testimony of the correct line followed by the AWP in the construction and defense of socialism. The historic importance of these magnificent victories stands out particularly when we bear in mind that they were achieved amid conditions of the most regressive turn ever known in the history of the international communist and workers movement. During this regressive turn revisionism took power in Yugoslavia--with which we were allies during the war; the dictatorship of the proletariat was overthrown and capitalism restored in the Soviet Union, the first country of socialism, as well as in the other former socialist countries with which we were close allies; China, also our former ally, began to sink increasingly more deeply into capitalism and the former communist parties throughout the world were transformed into revisionist and counterrevolutionary parties. And precisely in these extremely difficult and tragic historic conditions, our AWP and the Albanian people, our socialist Albania, resisted the savage tide of modern revisionism, the savage capitalist encirclement and blockade and the pressure of the international economic and financial crisis, met imperialism and revisionism head on and were not brought to their knees, but kept the banner of Marxism-Leninism in Albania high, unsoiled and unbent, achieving all these magnificent successes and victories.

The "Albanian miracle," as the revolutionaries and well-wishers of Albania call it, constitutes an unprecedented and historic experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat, a contribution of incalculable value to the theory of Marxism-Leninism and the practice of socialist construction and a great encouragement to the entire communist and workers movement and all the peoples of the world.

To the revolutionaries and the peoples of the world the experience of socialist Albania clearly shows that it is fully possible to overthrow the bourgeoisie, to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, to successfully build socialism, to continually promote the revolution in all fields of life, to avoid a return to capitalism with total success and to

defend the country relying on one's own efforts not only in a large country like the Soviet Union of Lenin's and Stalin's time, but also in a small country like Albania, which inherited a deep backwardness from the past and which is under a hostile siege. All this is possible provided that there is a real revolutionary party of the working class in the lead, like the AWP, and provided that this party loyally and creatively implements the teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

This is also the greatest historic contribution of the AWP and the Albanian people to the great cause of the revolution and to Marxism-Leninism in our era. Our party and our people have won these positions through struggle, and with blood and sweat and will never relinquish them, but will always defend and strengthen them without fail, at all times and in all circumstances, thus performing both their national and their international duty as revolutionaries and builders of socialism.

[AU042120] The Party's Loyalty to Marxism-Leninism Is the Cornerstone of All the Successes and Victories of the Albanian People

How is the fact explained that in these 35 years, while capitalism has been restored in the Soviet Union and other former socialist countries in Europe as a result of the coming to power of the revisionists, and while China is sinking ever more deeply in the capitalist sea, the AWP "did not shift trenches" as the song has it, but remained consistently Marxist-Leninist and the disaster of the restoration of capitalism was averted in Albania? How is it possible, while the economic and financial crisis is causing havoc in the capitalist and revisionist world--where chronic and growing unemployment has exploded, where inflation is rising at a dizzying speed, where prices and the cost of living rise annually and daily, uninterruptedly and so forth--on the one hand, that socialist Albania, on the other hand, has experienced in those 35 years only ascent, progress, development, increased social production, has never known price increases, but on the contrary has experienced several reductions in the price of consumer commodities, where inflation remains alien to our economy, where unemployment is unknown and taxes have been abolished--how is that possible? How was it possible to build socialism successfully and alone in a small country, in conditions of blockade and encirclement, in constant ideological, political and economic struggle against imperialism, social imperialism, revisionism and international reaction? They are legitimate questions being asked even by our enemies, but which all the revolutionaries and friends of Albania throughout the world are also particularly interested in having answered.

There is no secret in this great question of historic importance; the truth shines like the sun and that truth lies in the very existence and revolutionary activity of the AWP which is characterized, among other things, by three great qualities: The profound political and ideological clarity and its consistently correct Marxist-Leninist line, which it implements consistently; the steel-like unity of the party's ranks and the unity of the

people and the party; and the revolutionary courage to struggle heroically against enemies and difficulties, to meet the dangers of life and to march forward, only forward, at all times, allowing nothing to be placed over its head, but Marxism-Leninism.

The AWP, founded and led by Comrade Enver Hoxha in the storms of struggle and life, has been, is and will always remain the inspirer, organizer and architect of all the successes and victories in the revolution and the construction of socialism.

At all times and in all circumstances since 8 November 1941, when it was founded in that small one-storey cottage of old Tirana, up to the present, our glorious party has always remained loyal to the immortal teachings of Marxism-Leninism, which it knew how to implement creatively in the specific conditions of our country, in the years of the struggle for liberation and the conquest of power, as well as in the struggle for the construction and defense of socialism. Loyalty to Marxism-Leninism has always been at the foundation of our party's thinking and action throughout its life. It has been, is and will always remain the cornerstone of all the successes and victories of our people. It explains everything.

The historic postwar experience has proven that the party that remains loyal to the last to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, the cause of the proletariat and the interests of the people, regardless of all dangers, as is the case with the AWP--such a party can never be defeated, can never be subdued and in its difficult but glorious path achieves only victories; while those parties sliding into the filth of opportunism and revisionism, as have the former communist parties in Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union, China and elsewhere--in the case of such parties the result of their thinking and action can only be betrayal to the cause of the revolution and their transformation into lackeys of the imperialist bourgeoisie, their transformation into "Trojan horses" intended to take the fortress from within in the countries where the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established and to prevent its establishment in those countries where objective conditions have matured for the revolution. That is the greatest historic lesson for the genuine Marxists-Leninists in the present day.

Our party has always remained a revolutionary party of the working class because it was able to form, preserve and constantly strengthen the ideological, political and organizational unity of its ranks and because it has waged a merciless struggle against all deviations and factions within its ranks. It has never permitted and does not permit the creation and operation of two or more lines within its ranks, as does the CCP, but follows only one line, its Marxist-Leninist line.

Had our party accepted Mustafa Gjinishi's and Ymer Dishica's betrayal in 1943, it would then have had to share power with the bourgeoisie, it would have become the grave digger of its own role as the vanguard of the working class; it would have been turned into a lackey of the bourgeoisie and the

state power in Albania today would not be in the hands of the working class, but in those of the bourgeoisie, sold out to imperialism.

[AU051435] Koci Xoxe's group implemented the directives of Velimir Stojnic, emissary of the Yugoslav leadership, to reverse the correct Marxist-Leninist line of the party represented by Comrade Enver Hoxha in order to place Koci Xoxe and his band at the head of our party and state. In October 1944 Koci Xoxe's group lost the bitter struggle waged in the AWP Central Committee which was meeting in Berat. Had this group won, Albania today would be nothing more than a miserable revisionist province of Federal Yugoslavia.

In 1944, the AWP Central Committee and Comrade Enver told the British, "Get out of Sarande and do not set foot on our soil, otherwise you will meet bullets!" If this was not done the British Army would have landed in Albania and there would have been no liberation anniversary for us today. Instead there would have been occupation, slavery and colonialism and the blood of our martyrs would have been in vain.

In 1946 Sejfulla Maleshova's opportunistic views were defeated and rejected. If this was not done Albania could easily have become subjugated by the imperialist bourgeoisie and transformed into a bourgeois state sold out to U.S., British and Italian imperialism. If this was not done there would be no socialist Albania today.

In 1947 Comrade Enver Hoxha told the Yugoslav leadership: "Hands off Albania!" He rejected Tito's request that divisions of the Yugoslav Army be deployed in Korce and Gjirokaster, supposedly under the guise of defending Albania from the "Greek danger." If this was not done Albania would have been occupied militarily by Yugoslavia in those early days and another national liberation struggle would have been necessary to liberate ourselves from a new foreign yoke. And a little later, in 1948, that most terrible of all factions in the party's leadership, represented by Koci Xoxe, chief agent of the Yugoslav revisionists, and his band were defeated and annihilated. If this was not done Albania would not exist today as a socialist country, but would be a wretched appendage of the Yugoslav state, in which capitalism has been fully restored.

If the party has listened to the defeatist views of Tuk Jakova and Bedri Spahiu, Albania would be without oil and fuels, it would have gone bankrupt economically and would be subjugated by the imperialist bourgeoisie.

In 1960 our party smashed the Khrushchevite agents in its ranks, like Liri Belishova and others, and did not capitulate under the pressure and blackmail of Nikita Khrushchev and all the revisionist lackeys of Eastern Europe. In November of that year the voice of Comrade Enver, the leader of our party and people, reverberated in the Georgevskiy Hall of the Kremlin at the meeting of 81 communist and workers parties. Comrade Enver Hoxha spoke in defense of Lenin and Stalin, in defense of Marxism-Leninism and of the

Albanian people and against Khrushchevite revisionism. He was not at all impressed by the rabid attacks of the most vicious lackeys of the bourgeoisie, like Poland's Gomulka and Spain's Dolores Ibarruri, who called us "mad" and "Trotskyites," and who were followed by the revisionists of all the other parties. If Comrade Enver Hoxha had not done that, capitalism would have been restored today in Albania, the same as in the Soviet Union. And in 1961 our party told the Soviet servicemen at the Vlore base: "Get out, because Vlore is ours and will remain ours forever, or else you will be at the other end of the barrels of our cannons!" If this had not been done Albania would today be a second Bulgaria--a starting point of the Soviet social imperialist army for the occupation of the Balkans and Europe.

Our party uncovered and smashed the Putschist plot of Beqir Balluku and his band; of Abdyl Kellezi and his group; and of the old agents of several revisionist countries, near and far. If this had not been done the Putschists and plotters would have done in Albania what Zhou Enlai's and Den Xiaoping's group were able to do in China. Our party did not submit to the Chinese social imperialist diktat and it did not accept "Mao Zedong thought" as a replacement of Marxism-Leninism. If it had, socialist Albania would today have concluded an alliance with U.S. imperialism, imperialism in general and with the most vicious fascist and reactionary forces in the world--just as Deng Xiaoping's and Hua Guofeng's leadership is doing--and socialism would have come to an end in Albania.

But none of this happened. All these innumerable diabolical conspiracies, traps and plans of the internal and external enemies were smashed by our party and we triumphed over them because the party had the great political and ideological clarity and maturity to distinguish black from white and because it had the unity of its ranks with the people. We triumphed because the party had the revolutionary courage to fight and triumph, and the revolutionary courage never to show its back to the enemy or to dangers, but only its face, its chest and its fist. The party triumphed in those storms and waves because Enver Hoxha, our dear comrade and our beloved teacher, the leader of the party and of the people, was at the head of the party and the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat; the party triumphed because Enver Hoxha was holding the rudder firmly and strongly, with his eyes always glued to the unfailing compass of Marxism-Leninism, which never lets you down, not even in darkness and storms.

The party's leading role throughout the country's life is the decisive factor of every success, of every victory. The party's leading role must be indivisible in the revolution as well as throughout the entire historic period of the construction of socialism; and this role must be constantly strengthened.

[AU061120] Contrary to the revisionist sermons about "pluralistic socialism," our party has adhered to and consistently continues to adhere to the Marxist-Leninist view that the proletarian party must never share leadership

with other parties because the dictatorship of the proletariat can only established, exist, operate and be strengthened when, at the head of its entire system, there is only one party of the working class. This party which heads the entire system relies solely on one ideology--the ideology of the working class, the Marxist-Leninist ideology. There can be no other alternative on this vital issue. This is vindicated by historic experience throughout the world, as well as in our country.

The revisionist views and practices concerning the so-called independence of the state, the place of mass organizations and various other sectors in relation to the party of the working class or the placement of the army, security and other forces over the party--as has happened in Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union, China and other countries where revisionist clique have come to power--these views and practices have never been allowed in our country.

The great historic victories achieved in our country in these 35 years are closely linked with the fact that the party has always kept the dictatorship of the proletariat free from bureaucracy and liberalism, and strong and invincible, as the powerful arm of the working class to defend the triumphant proletarian revolution and to build socialism. The dictatorship of the proletariat in our country constitutes an entire and complex system. It is the main instrument of the party, in addition to other instruments, that is the mass organizations. The AWP has always been and remains at the head of this system, as the sole leading political force of the state and society, as defined in Article 3 of the republic's Constitution.

Our party has unmasked and rejected the counterrevolutionary revisionist sermons that deny the dictatorship of the proletariat and declare that the class struggle supposedly ends with the elimination of the exploiting classes and the construction of the economic base of socialism. Consequently, according to these sermons, there no longer is a place for the dictatorship of the proletariat. This revisionist thesis is intended to replace the dictatorship of the proletariat with the so-called state of all the people, behind which the savage fascist dictatorship of the new revisionist bourgeoisie is concealed.

Marxism-Leninism teaches us--and our country's experience concretely proves it--that the dictatorship of the proletariat must exist, operate and be constantly perfected and strengthened without fail throughout the entire historical period of the construction of socialism up to communism because the class struggle continues throughout this period and because the danger exists of a return to capitalism, a danger that does not arise only from an imperialist aggression from outside, but also from internal revisionist degeneration.

The reality of our socialist society rejects the accusations and slanders of the bourgeois-revisionist propaganda that attempt to present the dictatorship of the proletariat as a negation of democracy. The reality of

our socialist society proves in practice the correctness of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism that the dictatorship of the proletariat provides the only genuine democracy for the broad masses of the working people. The freedom and democracy demanded by the bourgeoisie and revisionists are freedom and democracy for the overthrown exploiters and the enemies of socialism to operate freely to undermine and overthrow the socialist system and restore capitalism. In our socialist society there is total freedom and endless democracy only for the people, only for the working masses, but not for the enemies of socialism and the bourgeois and revisionist ideology, against which the iron fist of the dictatorship of the proletariat strikes mercilessly. The socialist democracy in action flourishing in our country is the complete opposite of the so-called bourgeois democracy which, as Lenin used to say, remains always narrow, truncated, false and hypocritical, a paradise for the rich and a trap and deception for the exploited and the poor.

Our party has always viewed and continues to view the participation of the masses in the country's administration and its constant deepening as a major direction of the development of socialist democracy, as a great driving force and one of the decisive factors in furthering the rapid progress of the revolution and the construction of socialism, to preserve and insure our state and society from the danger of bourgeois and revisionist degeneration. This purpose is also served by the worker and peasant control organized by the party in accordance with Lenin's teachings.

As the country's sole political and ideological force, the party has struggled and continues to struggle to keep our state and its own ranks free of the dangerous degenerating disease of liberalism and bureaucracy. Liberalism is a reflection of political and ideological opportunism leading to a relinquishment of consistent class struggle, a departure of the principles of scientific socialism and to opportunistic attitudes and indifference toward alien manifestations and influences, as well as toward weaknesses and shortcomings at work. It is for this reason that liberalism has been and will be consistently opposed by our party. Facts prove, as was stressed by the Fourth AWP Central Committee Plenum in June 1976, that the major goals of the class enemy in present-day conditions for the degeneration of the socialist system of the internal and external policy of our state and party, is to stimulate liberalism along the entire front.

[AU051610] Hence, the struggle against bureaucracy and liberalism as one of the most important directions of the class struggle in socialism, remains a fundamental and permanent task of the party, the state, the mass organizations and all working people, in order to protect the party, the dictatorship of the proletariat and our socialist society from bourgeois and revisionist degeneration. Historic experience from the Paris commune up to socialist Albania has confirmed that a strong and lasting dictatorship of the proletariat is impossible without liquidating the old army of the exploiting classes and without creating the people's armed forces. That great and vital issue for the destinies of socialism has always been

at the center of attention of the party. The party created the system of our people's defense on the basis of Marxist-Leninist military science and with people's warfare methods. An armed and military trained people, the party's leadership throughout the system of the armed forces and defense, the party in command, permanent combat readiness to meet even the most difficult situation--those are the fundamental elements insuring our socialist homeland against all military aggression from outside.

Our fundamental Marxist-Leninist concept in the question of defense, too, is reliance on our own efforts, on the internal factor, on the armed people, the massive heroism of the people and the party's leadership. That is why our defense is invincible.

During these 35 years the unity of our people has been placed on a new class basis and has been raised to a high degree. What lies at the foundations of this party-people unity is the alliance of two friendly classes--the working class and the peasantry in cooperatives. That unity, which constitutes a great driving force in our society, without which nothing can be achieved and with which it is possible "to storm the skies," is preserved and strengthened through the correct and consistent development of the class struggle against both internal and external enemies, as well as against those negative phenomena and alien manifestations affecting unity.

One of the major methods used by the party to insure its links with the masses, to strengthen their belief in the correctness of the party's line and to mobilize them, is the method of talking openly to them, telling them the truth as it is, without concealing difficulties from them. That is why, in the construction of socialism as in war, they launch themselves into fire with the party's word; that is why the people sing: "When Enver speaks and the party decides all Albania rises like one!"

Proceeding from the Leninist teachings that it is easier to take power than to keep it, that the dictatorship of the proletariat does not mean a cessation of the class struggle, but its continuation in new forms, our party has consistently waged the class struggle during these past 35 years and has accumulated a very rich experience of vital importance for the destiny of socialism.

The revolutionary experience of socialist Albania during these 35 years, scientifically generalized in our party's documents and Comrade Enver's works, shows that the class struggle, as Comrade Enver stresses, "...is an objective phenomenon, a major driving force which furthers the revolution and the construction of socialism and protects the party, the state and all the country against bourgeois and revisionist degeneration and the restoration of capitalism...." (E. Hoxha--Report to the Seventh AWP Congress, p 128) not just during the period in which the classes continue to exist as such, but even after the liquidation and up to communism.

Throughout the entire historic period of transition from capitalism to communism, the general purpose of the class struggle is to resolve the fundamental contradiction in socialism, which is the contradiction between the socialist path and the capitalist path, to insure the total and final victory of socialism and communism, something that is achieved, as Lenin said, "Through an extraordinarily bitter class struggle, with extraordinarily bitter forms...." (V. I. Lenin--Works, Vol 25, p 488).

The revisionists deny the class struggle is an objective of restoring capitalism. The class struggle is an objective law and a major driving force in the socialist society, up to the complete and final triumph of socialism on both a national and international scale. The class enemy and hostile ideology are always in action. There is no vacuum in the class struggle; where we retreat the vacuum is filled by the enemy, in the political and ideological sphere as well as in the economic, military and every other sphere of life. That is what Marxism-Leninism teaches us and it is what our own experience in the construction of socialism has also confirmed.

The class struggle is waged continuously, with zigzags and ups and downs, according to circumstances, even after the liquidation of the exploiting classes, not only against external enemies and the comprehensive corrupting influence of the capitalist and revisionist world encircling us, but also against internal enemies--the remnants of the overthrown exploiting classes and also the new enemies born in our society; the class struggle is waged at the same time also among the people and within the party itself against all influences of alien ideologies inherited from the past or the current bourgeois and revisionist ideologies.

[AU051725] Our party has always waged the class struggle correctly, frontally and consequently, while removing and eradicating all opportunistic attitudes of its artificial exacerbation. The worse example of the attenuation of the class struggle in an opportunistic way is the revisionist liberalization that took place in Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union, China and other countries where the revisionists are in power, while the worse example of an extremist exacerbation of the class struggle is the cultural revolution in China, guided by "Mao Zedong thought" and the most monstrous and criminal example is the mass annihilation of the Cambodian people by Pol Pot's fascists clique, the ally and servant of the Chinese revisionist leadership.

The great historic victories currently enjoyed by our people are owed to the implementation of our party's correct Marxist-Leninist line in the construction of socialism on the economic, social and cultural fronts. Without a correct economic, social and cultural policy and without consistent implementation of that correct policy, the great victories which make it possible today for socialist Albania to challenge the entire bourgeois and revisionist world in all fields of life could not have been achieved.

The direct transition of our country from a technological, economic and semi-feudal backwardness to the construction of socialism, by-passing the stage of developed industrial capitalism, could not be achieved without the country's socialist industrialization and electrification. Much pressure was exerted on our party and people by the Yugoslav revisionists immediately after the liberation, by Khrushchev's revisionist clique later on and by Zhou Enlai's group more recently, to induce Albania to develop only as an agricultural country and to prevent it from embarking on the road of industrial ascent, because that was supposedly outside its capabilities and possibilities. Had our party listened to the "advice" of those champions of revisionism, Albania would never have industrialized itself, industrial production would not currently represent a pace-setting factor in extended socialist reproduction and would not constitute the proportion of 65 percent of the total industrial and agricultural production taken together. Albania would have remained a backward agrarian country. But our party surmounted the obstacles and consistently followed the course of the country's socialist industrialization.

In the matter of the development of industry, our party's policy has aimed at and continues to aim at creating a multi-branched industry based on advanced techniques and technology and on a stable internal base of raw materials, capable of completely insuring the most rational and efficient economic utilization of the country's natural resources, capable of meeting the main needs of all branches of the national economy, of continually raising the living standards of the people and of increasing the country's defense potential.

In the matter of industrialization, our party has loyally followed the teachings of Marxism-Leninism on the priority development of heavy industry. That is why, despite the obvious and constant increase in the production of consumer commodities during six 5-year periods, if the production of the means of production in 1950 constituted 52 percent and the production of consumer commodities 48 percent [total industrial output], the respective proportions in 1979 will be about 65 percent for the former and 35 percent for the latter, in the general framework of the country's industrial output.

Our party had to confront the terrible pressure of the Soviet revisionists, who attempted to reduce our country to the level of a mere producer of raw materials which would then be processed there, in the revisionist "metro-polisses." The Khrushchevites sabotaged us to the point that they discovered oil in Albania but concealed it from us in order to keep us under their domination. But we found the oil ourselves and are now exporters of oil.

Our party rejected as undesirable the attempts made by Zhou Enlai and his group, attempts based on "Mao Zedong thought," to induce us not to give priority to the development of heavy industry, to the production of the means of production, but to give priority to light industry and agriculture. Had we accepted their revisionist theses, it would have been disastrous for us. The construction of heavy industry projects in our country with

the aid of China was achieved through constant, bitter and tooth and nail struggle between our leadership and the Chinese leadership.

The policy pursued and implemented by our party with great persistency has strived for and continues to strive for the harmonious development of both the extractive and processing industries, to achieve the full cycle of transforming the natural resources of our country into finished products.

Orienting itself to the country's socialist industrialization, our party has nevertheless never underrated agriculture, which has been and remains the basis of our national economy. "Our party," Comrade Enver has said, "adheres to the line that we must have, not only a developed industry, but also advanced agriculture; that our economy, in order to be strong and independent, must stand on both feet, on industry as well as agriculture." (E. Hoxha--Report to the Fifth Congress of the AWP, p 57)

And our agriculture is currently in a position to fully meet the people's needs in breadgrains, meat, milk, fruit, vegetables and eggs, as well as to supply the light and food industry with about 80 percent of the raw materials that it needs and 10 percent of the value of exports from natural agricultural produce.

[AU051807] Our party never allowed agriculture to develop unilaterally, as the Yugoslav revisionists wished to impose on us at the beginning, trying to induce us to produce only olives and sunflowers "and the bread would be insured by the Yugoslavs with grain sown and harvested in Backa and Banat!" Or like Nikita Khrushchev who sought to "advise" us to produce "only fruit and citrus" to be exported to the Soviet Union, "While Khrushchev would send us wheat from the fields in Kazakhstan," when the wheat sown in the Ukraine and in Kazakhstan germinates and when it is harvested in the United States, in Canada, in Australia and in Argentina! It is precisely the Khrushchevite revisionist agricultural policy that has transformed the Soviet Union into the largest importer of breadgrains, although the Soviet Union is a powerful industrial state and occupies one-sixth of the area of the earth! When the time came to say: "This is where our ways part, the friendship can no longer be kept," because the Khrushchevites continued their way to the right and we followed our Marxist-Leninist way straight on and upward toward socialism. The refusal of the Khrushchevite revisionist clique to supply us with wheat, although we offered to pay for it with the gold of our state treasury, was clear proof showing how vital and beneficial our party's decision to produce breadgrains in the country without fail was.

But the priority which our party and state have given and continue to give to the production of breadgrains not only does not rule out, but on the contrary, demands without fail the complex and harmonious development of agriculture along a broad front: The development of livestock and horticulture in addition to the development of field crops; the development of

industrial crops in addition to breadgrains; the development of forestry side by side with agriculture; the development of agriculture not only in the plains, but also in the hills and mountains. "Let us take to the hills and mountains, embellish them and make them as fertile as the plains," declared Comrade Enver at the Fifth AWP Congress. And that task has been magnificently achieved by our peasantry and youth.

The party followed the policy of keeping the peasantry on the land in order to prevent the abandonment of the countryside, as happens in the bourgeois and revisionist capitalist countries, where the countryside is abandoned and the peasantry emigrates en masse to the cities, where an army unemployed is thus created. The rural population in our country increases annually in absolute figures; the drawing of manpower from the countryside takes place in a planned and controlled manner and not in a spontaneous or anarchistic way. In addition, the party's policy for the territorial distribution of industry has made it possible for industry to expand in every district, without exception, to expand even in the countryside, particularly the mining and oil industry sector, the light and food industry and the timber industry, where some of the peasantry are also working, thus achieving the socialist interweaving of industry and agriculture, the industrialization of the countryside and the gradual narrowing of the fundamental differences between the cities and the countryside.

The construction of the technical and material base of socialism, particularly in a country like Albania, which inherited terrible backwardness in the development of production forces from the past, is indivisible from the continuous development of a profound technological and scientific revolution, as an integral part of the socialist revolution, in order to implement the principle of self-reliance for the construction of socialism in the technological and scientific field. The technological and scientific revolution in our country takes place in accordance with Comrade Enver's teachings. It comprises not only almost all the cadres at various levels, but also the working masses. We are not against buying advanced technology from other countries, we even consider it to be essential. But we are also working at the same time to deepen the technological and scientific revolution through our own efforts.

Being genuinely socialist, our national economy develops and is administered in a planned and proportional way, in accordance with the fundamental principle of democratic centralism and of a profound knowledge of and correct implementation of the objective economic laws of socialism, in constant struggle against manifestations of empiricism and superficiality, as well as voluntarism and subjectivism.

The party has worked to fully secure the country's economic independence. And that independence has now been fully achieved. It is the second real liberation of our people. Our exports now totally cover all our imports. It is not autarchy at all, as has been said by those who do not wish Albania well. By economic independence our party means the achievement of extended

socialist reproduction by means of its own internal accumulation. And while the accumulation quota in the first 5-year period 1951-55 in our country was 25.6 percent, in 1979, when we receive no aid whatsoever from abroad, the accumulation quota reached 31 percent and in 1980 is expected to be 33 percent. In addition, the per capita consumption of foodstuffs and industrial commodities has also increased. By economic independence our party also means securing the essential commodities and the constant elevation of the standard of living of the people through our own efforts, the achievement of full employment for all the active population and a foreign trade in which our exports are sufficient to meet all our import needs. And all those objectives have been successfully achieved owing to our party's and state's correct economic policy.

[Au052040] The AWP and our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat have devoted particular attention to socialist production relations and, in that context, to distribution relations. In the matter of the policy of distribution in our country, we have consistently implemented the Marxist-Leninist principle of "from everyone according to his abilities, to everyone according to his work," but never allowing the principle to be deformed, as has been done by the modern revisionists, who have turned that great principle upside down. In the field of distribution the party and the state have consistently implemented a profoundly revolutionary policy which aims at: The continual increase of the people's welfare; the stimulation of creative initiative, the correct stimulation of socialist and communist work, giving priority to moral stimuli over material ones; the strengthening of the alliance of the working class with the co-operativist peasantry and the strengthening of the unity among all sections of society; the narrowing of differences between the cities and the countryside, as well as between physical and mental labor; the prevention of the creation of privileged sections and categories, which opens up the way to bourgeois and revisionist degeneration. The reduction of the higher salaries of officials three times and the establishment of a 1:2 ratio in relation to the average pay of the workers is a profoundly revolutionary and effective measure sanctioned by law in order to prevent the bourgeoisification of the cadres without falling into positions of petty bourgeois egalitarianism. Whereas in the bourgeois and revisionist capitalist countries the ratio reaches even 1:30 or more.

In the matter of distribution relations the party has taken care to insure even now, in the stage of the construction of socialism, that elements of communist distribution be introduced gradually and in accordance with the state's possibilities, elements such as free education for all, free health care for all, the portion of expenditure met by the state for kindergartens and nurseries, the elimination of the consequences of the earthquake with all expenditure met by the state and so forth, which, taken together, constitutes a social consumption fund equal to over 15 percent of the overall consumption of the people.

The AWP Central Committee and the government keep a firm hand on the prices policy, to prevent anarchy, price rises, anomalies in prices, speculation,

competition and inflation. In our country prices are unified throughout the republic, regardless of the distance traversed by the commodity from producer to consumer. In the same way, the state firmly plans and controls manpower and the wages fund, the increase in labor productivity and a reduction in production costs, exporting and importing, money circulation and so forth. That is why crisis, unemployment, inflation and rising prices do not make any headway in our country, as happens in the bourgeois and revisionist capitalist countries.

The communist education of people has always been at the center of the party's attention. The party's intention has been and is to educate the working people with a Marxist-Leninist world outlook, with a spirit of socialist patriotism, with a feeling of love for work and for the defense of common property, with a feeling of collectivism and socialist solidarity and with the norms of communist morality. The party has worked and continues to work so that all our people may think, work, struggle and live like revolutionaries, placing the general interest of society, the people and socialism above all else. Especially in that matter, whether one places the general interest of society, the people and socialism at the forefront or narrow, personal or family interest, that is where the demarcation line is between the two ways--the socialist path on the one hand, and the capitalist path, on the other; that is precisely where the demarcation line is between the revolution and counterrevolution in the consciousness of every person. "...the feeling for private property and the placing of personal interest over the general interest," says Comrade Enver, "constitute the hotbed where bourgeois degeneration and revisionist and capitulationist viewpoints are nurtured and born." (E. Hoxha--Report to the Seventh AWP Congress, p 136)

The participation of cadres in physical work for one month every year, in the manner of workers and cooperative members, is an important measure for the communist education of the cadres, to link and merge their mental and physical work. The method of youth actions, particularly in the construction of railroads, has become a permanent method of communist education, because there youths perform concrete communist work.

[AU052220] Measures for the further revolutionization of schools are also an integral part of the struggle to promote the ideological and cultural revolution in our country. The implementation of our educational system, which is built entirely in accordance with Marx's teachings on communist education, for the correct combination of learning with production work and physical and military training, is of extraordinary importance for the education of the young generation, loyal bearers of the revolutionary baton.

The party has worked and is working for a genuinely revolutionary culture and art, permeated by proletarian partisanship and which reflects correctly and realistically the development of our socialist society according to the method of socialist realism. Socialist art and culture are in full bloom in our country; our writers and artists, educated by the party, loyal to

the revolution and in the service of the people, have become worthy assistants of the party for the education of people, "architects" of the spirit of people.

That, generally is the historic experience of the party and of our country in the construction of socialism and the country's defense. The importance of our experience goes beyond the borders of our country. It is the contribution of our party and people in the great cause of Marxism-Leninism and of the revolution. It is Marxism-Leninism in action, in Albania's concrete conditions, in the concrete conditions of our era. In traversing that path under the leadership of the party and Comrade Enver, our people have always come out of every battle and clash with the enemies and with all obstacles and difficulties with flying colors and they have come to the 35th anniversary of the country's liberation with a magnificent balance sheet of successes and victories. But that does not make us at all dizzy with success. In drawing up the balance sheet of 35 years of unprecedented struggle for the construction of socialism against all internal and external enemies, our people and party set themselves the task of continuing even more resolutely that glorious path, because only that path, the path indicated by the party and Comrade Enver, is the sole correct path, the path of salvation which averts and defeats dangers and which leads to the highest peaks of socialism and communism.

The revolutionaries and the peoples of the entire world may rest assured that the banner of Marxism-Leninism will never be allowed to fall to the ground in Albania, as happened in the revisionist countries, but will always be kept high, unsoiled and invincible in the strong hands of the AWP and of the Albanian people and will be handed down like that to following generations.

AU042240] The Principled Foreign Policy in Defense of the Country's Interests and the Cause of the World Revolution

Comrades, the existing wonderful situation in our country presents a completely different picture as compared to the situation in the capitalist-revisionist world, which is undergoing a continual process of decline and disintegration. Cyclical development has been and remains the fundamental characteristic of the bourgeois capitalist and revisionist economy, in its proportions, intensity, destructive force and duration of the depression phase and its cycle. The crisis of the 70's is no less intense than the world economic crisis of the 1929-1933 period, and, in some aspects, it is even deeper than that.

The crisis of the 70's occurred because of a sharp decline in production in all the branches of the capitalist economy, massive bankruptcy of enterprises and bank institutions, deterioration in already chronic failures to utilize the productive capacity, growth of unemployment, inflation and unprecedented price increases, suffice it to say that in 1979, as compared with 1963, the overall price index of consumer goods in the United States

reached 228.6 percent; in Britain, 388.9 percent, West Germany, 187.1 percent; Italy, 367.7 percent and so forth. A continual price increase on a wide scale has also occurred in Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union and in all the CEMA countries. Likewise, revisionist China also turned to unrestricted rise of consumer goods prices. Rising prices of consumer goods prevail everywhere, except only in one country, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, where prices have never gone up, but they have either been reduced or remained at existing levels.

The present world crisis is coupled with a considerable increase of unemployment, which, according to official figures, has reached 110 million people, whereas, in fact, there are tens of millions more unemployed.

In the face of such a situation the capitalist and revisionist bourgeoisie is trying to shift the burden of the economic crisis onto the shoulders of the proletariat and the other working masses by continually increasing prices, inflation, taxation, and so forth. To check the current crisis and save themselves from a catastrophe, the imperialist powers are using most diversified forms and methods. They are doing the utmost to export the crisis to other countries in which they are intensifying the plunder of national resources and neocolonialist exploitation.

The capital exportation by the developed capitalist countries has assumed an unprecedented impetus. From the overall sum of the exported capital, over half of it is accounted for by the United States. In 1978, compared to 1977, U.S. capital export increased by over 20 percent. At the end of 1975 the United States' direct investments in other countries of the world reached \$133 billion, as against \$75 billion in 1970.

The degree of exploitation and plundering of other peoples by American imperialism is also confirmed by the fact that the profits from direct investment of American capital in other countries was, according to the data furnished by the United States Treasury bulletin, 12 percent in the industrialized countries and over 25 percent, that is, more than double, in the Asian, African and Latin American countries. From 1950-73 the American monopolies reaped, from capital investment in Africa alone, an annual profit three times the annual direct investments in those countries, and the net income reaped from new capital investments was about six times. All that confirms what Comrade Enver Hoxha says in his book "Imperialism and the Revolution" that "...American imperialism has not been weakened at all, as the Chinese claim." (E. Hoxha "Imperialism and the Revolution," p 105)

Soviet social-imperialism has also become the capital exporter of tens of billions of rubles in 75 countries of the world. American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism are the largest exporters of arms in the world. On the other hand, an intensification of the integration of the Soviet economy and of other revisionist countries in the world capitalist system

has been noted. Thus, apart from other things, in 1977 the CEMA member countries owed the Western capitalist countries over \$53 billion, whereas in the last two years that figure has increased further. Revisionist China has also swiftly taken that path.

The imperialist powers, mainly the superpowers, have embarked on a feverish expansionist and hegemonist activity. For that purpose they have intensified the arms race and war preparations, as well as their aggressive and conspiratorial activity so as to antagonize various peoples and countries to make war on one another and create conflicts and troubled situations in various parts of the globe and exploit them to strengthen their position and further their expansion.

The two imperialist powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, have been and remain the great potential enemies of the freedom and independence of the sovereign and freedom-loving peoples and states. Their aggressive and expansionist intentions cannot be camouflaged in the eyes of the people by their demagogical slogans about "detente," "peaceful coexistence," "the policy of balanced forces" and so forth. Nor can they be camouflaged by the unsparing noise about the SALT agreements and the talks on "military force reduction," armaments and so forth.

[AU061325] Since World War II, tension in Europe and in the world has never been as acute as it is today. It is enough to mention that today three to four times more military forces are kept in permanent military readiness in the NATO and Warsaw Pact countries than were in the same countries on the eve of World War II. If we consider their arsenals of weapons of mass destruction the firepower of these forces is thousands of times greater than on the eve of World War II. These aggressive blocs are constantly ready and capable of attacking any place in Europe without first ordering a general mobilization. How can they speak of detente in Europe? Do those thousands of American military bases and the presence and maneuvers of the American and Soviet naval fleets in all oceans and seas speak of peace, or war?

The existing situation is grave and dangerous. This situation has been created throughout the world by the United States and Soviet Union and their aggressive military alliances. It has become even more grave now that China has openly emerged in the international arena with its intentions to become a superpower. The new Chinese-American alliance and the unrestricted aggressive, expansionist and warmongering activity of the Chinese social imperialists in various parts of the world constitute a new and serious danger to the destinies of the freedom-loving peoples and countries and are further increasing the elements of uncertainty in the world.

With its clumsy and vulgar policy, social imperialist China is seeking to gain time to strengthen itself economically and militarily and to provoke a third world war between the other two superpowers. Hua Guofeng visited

the four big capitalist countries of Europe with two definite aims: To beg and to deceive. Concerning the first aim, the result is that he came to Europe to "fill his sack but he failed to get even a pocketful." The second aim of Hua Guofeng's visit to Europe was to deceive and persuade old Europe to hurl itself into war against Soviet social imperialism. This would unleash a third world war and permit revisionist China to warm its hands by this fire from a safe distance and, in the end, to grab the "big slice." But here Hua Guofeng came out "shaven and shorn": The bourgeoisie of old Europe has itself long been practicing these maneuvers toward others.

The current international situation testifies to the great dangers which are now threatening the freedom, independence and the free and independent development of the peoples, and peace and security in the world. Nevertheless, war is not inevitable. As Stalin has said, peace can be preserved and strengthened, provided the peoples take the cause of the preservation of peace into their own hands and carry it through to the end. And Marxism-Leninism teaches us that if war breaks out, despite the efforts to avoid it, then the duty of revolutionaries and the peoples is to turn the imperialist war into a liberation war.

It is undeniable that the hatred of the peoples for the three superpowers and all the other enemies is powerfully increasing every day. Today the proletariat and the peoples are engaged in a struggle against their external and internal enemies, and against their oppressors and exploiters. The struggle is being waged in various forms and ways. The peoples and the proletariat are becoming ever more aware that their rights, freedom, independence and vital interests can be won and defended only by resolutely opposing the policy of aggression, expansion and hegemonism of American imperialism, Soviet social imperialism, Chinese social imperialism and the other imperialist powers and reactionary regimes and cliques that have placed themselves at the service of the imperialist powers and monopolies.

In the process of this struggle the new Marxist-Leninist parties in all continents, which are fighting to place themselves at the head of the working class and the working masses and to lead them in the revolutionary and liberation battles, are gradually but surely growing and becoming stronger.

The growing momentum of the anti-imperialist struggle was once again confirmed by the people's uprising in Iran and by the determination and courage of the broad masses of the Iranian people, who threw themselves into the struggle, shed their blood and put an end to the corrupt and tyrannical feudal regime of the shah, the hangman of the Iranian people who had become the gendarme of American imperialism in the oil-rich area of the Middle East.

The events in Iran shook and seriously worried the imperialist world not only because they were a heavy blow to the economic interests of the imperialist bourgeoisie, but, above all, because the imperialist bourgeoisie

if very much afraid that the flames of the people's war may spread to other regions of great economic and strategic importance. The Albanian people greatly rejoice over the historic victory of the Iranian people and wish them success in the defense of their independence from the superpowers and for their further progress.

The imperialists, social imperialists, Zionists and reaction have now directed all their blows precisely against the Arab peoples, against their common cause--the Palestinian cause. To this end, American imperialism has recently intensified its efforts to further deepen the division between Arab countries, to set them against one another and, above all, to finally liquidate the just cause of the Palestinian people. The Camp David agreements and the separate Egyptian-Israeli treaty are the direct outcome of this conspiratorial activity.

[AU041437] Regardless of the different tactics and maneuvers, both the American imperialists and the Soviet social imperialists nurture the same hegemonic aim: Establishment of their domination in the rich and strategic region of the Middle East.

The Albanian people unreservedly support the just cause of the Arab peoples. We are confident that the fraternal Arab peoples will strengthen the unity of their ranks and will carry forward their struggle for the complete realization of their noble national aspirations and that, finally, the sacred cause of the Palestinian people will triumph.

We note with pleasure the struggle waged by the peoples of Africa to break away from the colonial and neocolonial rule and enter the road of independent economic, social and cultural development. The American imperialists, the Soviet social imperialists and the other imperialist powers have intensified their interference in the internal affairs of these long-suffering peoples and are sparing neither forces nor means to check and extinguish the liberation struggle of the peoples of Africa in order to keep them under their rule. The Chinese social imperialists--who have now openly stated their support for the reactionary and fascist regimes in the continent of Africa, and their support for the interests of American imperialism and former colonial powers--are also treading on the same path.

The Albanian people and their government unreservedly support the just struggle of the peoples of Africa for their liberation and emancipation. We will always maintain a firm solidarity with and resolutely support the just liberation struggle that the Zimbabwe, Namibian and Zambian peoples are now waging against the detestable, fascist and racist system of apartheid and against the plans and plots of the imperialists and social imperialists.

A complicated and explosive situation also exists in Latin America. The capitalist monopolies, mainly American monopolies, have deeply thrust their claws into the economy of these countries. These monopolies reap fabulous

profits through the ever more savage exploitation of the rich resources, labor, sweat and the blood of the Latin American peoples. In Latin America it has become a common phenomenon that, wherever in one or another Latin American country revolutionary situations are created and the interests and positions of American monopolies are threatened, the United States sets the CIA and the State Department in motion to organize military coups in order to bring to power fascist military dictatorships, just as they did in Chile and recently in El Salvador. The Soviet revisionists, disguising themselves under the slogan of "proletarian internationalism," are also unscrupulously interfering in the Latin American countries and implementing their imperialist expansion, while the Chinese revisionists are sparing nothing to also closely link themselves with the fascist cliques, like that of Pinochet in Latin America.

However, the peoples of Latin America, who are known for their revolutionary traditions, are increasingly embracing the idea of the revolution and are becoming ever more aware that total national independence, freedom, democracy and socialism can be attained only through the revolutionary road and through armed struggle. Freedom is neither begged for, nor is it donated; it is won by blood. The heroic peoples of Latin America are aware of this and they are marching on that road. The most living evidence of this truth is the overthrow of fascism in Nicaragua by the Sandinista people's insurrection. Our wish for the people of Nicaragua is that they may protect their historic victory from the superpowers and carry out to the end their victorious revolution. We support this revolutionary road because we ourselves have also traversed the road of armed insurrection and have won. And we know that there is no other road which leads to freedom and independence.

The fierce rivalry between the two imperialist powers to divide and re-divide the markets and the spheres of influence has also become considerably dangerous in Asia, especially in Southeast Asia. A grave situation of tension and war prevails in Southeast Asia. With their perfidious aggression against Vietnam and their intensive preparations to intervene militarily in Indochina, the Chinese social imperialists have openly sided with the chauvinistic and hegemonistic policy of the big state, superpower.

The AWP, the Albanian people and the Albanian Government strongly condemn the barbarous aggression against Vietnam and the full-scale conspiratorial and aggressive activity of Chinese social imperialism in Southeast Asia, just as they condemn any kind of aggression of one state against another. As sincere friends of the peoples of Indochina, we have always pointed out the dangers which American-Soviet-Chinese activity and rivalry for hegemony and domination in Asia and in the entire Pacific area involve for the destinies of those peoples, peace and international security.

The current world situation and development of events confirm the profound Marxist-Leninist analysis and the conclusions which Comrade Enver Hoxha has always made about the international situations, especially in his book

"Imperialism and the Revolution" which is a powerful weapon for all the communists and revolutionaries. It helps them to correctly understand the existing situations; enlightens for them the road of war against imperialism, capital, reaction and revisionism and strengthens their belief in the victory of the proletariat and the peoples, revolution and socialism.

In the past 35 years socialist Albania, guided by the AWP headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, has followed a firm, correct, principled and independent foreign policy. The foreign policy of our sovereign state has defended and will continue to defend the lofty interests of our socialist country. It has always faithfully served and will continue to serve the cause of the peoples' revolution and liberation.

[AU052130] Those who think that Albania would change course, may turn to the East or West because China has cut off all aid and credits, are making a serious mistake. Socialist Albania has never deviated from its correct Marxist-Leninist road in its external and internal policy. It is the others who have changed course leaning to the right, always to the right, to revisionism and capitalism.

When the AWP states that it is constructing socialism by relying on the forces of the Albanian people, that means that Albania will never extend its hand to anyone for charity and credits, to any capitalist and revisionist country. We will make do with what we have and, as the Albanian people say, we will stretch our legs as far as the blanket permits. All material and other conditions are existing for rapid, self-reliant progress. There has never been, there is none now and there never will be any vacuum in socialist Albania to be filled by the capitalist, bourgeois and revisionist countries.

Our party has a great historic experience. We have survived many plots, we are well aware of the intentions of imperialists and revisionists and we will never fall into their clutches. Our party has drawn profound lessons and conclusions from the Yugoslav tragedy, the Soviet tragedy and the Chinese tragedy and is also deeply aware of the imperialist tragedy. Neither the present generations, nor the coming ones, will ever fall into the snares of the imperialists and revisionists. They will never change the course which they began on 29 November 1944--which originated as early as 8 November 1941--the road which was traced personally by the founder and leader of the party, Comrade Enver Hoxha, and which has been approved and implemented by the entire party and all the people. What history has confirmed up to the present about socialist Albania, history will confirm also in the future, generation after generation.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Albanian people wish to live in peace and friendship with other peoples and countries. We have never been isolated. Our country has diplomatic relations with 84 countries and trades with dozens of states and hundreds of trade firms throughout the world. Socialist Albania has many friends everywhere in the world and the prestige of our party and country in the international arena has never been as high as it is now.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania--based on the principles of equality, sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs and mutual benefit--stands for establishment of normal diplomatic relations with any other country with which at present it has no relations, irrespective of differences in social order. However, as has previously been made clear, we will neither establish relations with the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, nor with any state where fascists or racists are in power, as in South Africa. Concerning diplomatic relations with Great Britain and the FRG, discussions can take place only after those countries have paid the known material obligations which they owe Albania.

The Albanian people and their government have spared no effort to develop normal and friendly relations with neighboring peoples and states toward which we have followed and will always follow a good-neighbor policy. Those relations with neighboring countries are progressing well and we support their constant development. We Albanians have always desired and desire now to live in friendship with neighboring peoples. Our party and government have long and repeatedly stated that, in the future as in the past, no harm will ever come to neighboring countries from our territory. Foreign military bases and forces are not allowed to be established on the territory of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. And the Albanian people have sanctioned that clear-cut stand in their fundamental law, in the Constitution of our socialist country.

Dear comrades, briefly, this is the road traversed by socialist Albania during these 35 years. The successes are splendid. But our victories of the future will be even greater and brighter. The path has been illuminated and is being illuminated for us by the party and Comrade Enver. The Albanian people will be grateful forever to the workers party and Comrade Enver Hoxha for everything that they have done and will do to defend the lofty interests of the Albanian people, socialism, Marxism-Leninism and revolution.

We consider the construction and defense of socialism in Albania not only as our revolutionary national duty, but also as a duty toward the world proletariat and the peoples of the world. As taught by Comrade Enver, our party and people will exert all their efforts so as to always be at the height of the revolutionary national and international duties, as worthy soldiers of the revolution in the forefront of the struggle against imperialism, social imperialism, revisionism and reaction to defend Marxism-Leninism and its complete and final triumph in Albania and the world over.

Let us mobilize all our energies and forces and spare nothing, even our lives if need be, so as to always march forward on the glorious road of the construction of socialism and communism, enlightened by the salvational teachings of our great and immortal teachers Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin!

Long live the Albanian people and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania!

Long live the AWP, organizer of all the victories and glorious and heroic leader of our people!

May Comrade Enver Hoxha, the beloved leader of our party and people, live as long as the high mountains of Albania!

Glory to Marxism-Leninism!

CSO: 2100

## ALBANIA

### BRIEFS

STUDENTS TO WESTERN EUROPE--Following comprehensive "precautionary measures" by Tirana against undesirable Western capitalist influence, some Albanian students have now been sent to Italy, France, and Austria, i.e., countries where there are Albanian diplomatic missions which can be called on for supervisory duties [i.e., supervision of students]. Whether Albanian students or trainees will also be sent to Switzerland and West Germany depends on whether Tirana also opens official representations in these countries. Tirana says that in 1980 a trade or consular office is to be established in Zurich. [Excerpt] [Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 3 Dec 79 p 6]

CSO: 2300

CHEMICAL WEAPONS PRODUCED BY UNITED STATES, OTHER COUNTRIES

U.S., FRG Chemical Weapons

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 9, 1979 pp 15-16

[Article by Engineer Major Nedyalko Panchev, candidate of chemical sciences:  
"Chemical Weapons in the United States and FRG"]

[Text] In connection with reports appearing in the press in 1979 about the explosion of a freight train carrying containers of poison gases and chemicals and the evacuation of around 25,000 people in the American State of California, as well as a similar catastrophe that occurred last year in the State of Florida, the editors have received inquiries about trends in the capitalist world towards the improvement of chemical weapons and the methods of storing them.

The question is still timely even now after the signing of the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT-2) since we know from the communique of the summit meeting in Vienna that the need for a general, complete and verifiable ban on chemical weapons has been confirmed and that both parties (the USSR and the United States) are expected to step up their efforts to prepare a coordinated proposal which will be introduced in the Disarmament Committee.

It is also known, however, that warmongering circles in the United States--mainly the leaders of the military industrial complex and NATO--furiously oppose not only the signed treaty, but also all matters in respect of which the treaty that has been reached is supposed to operate in order to preclude the possibility of a new world war. These circles continue to develop and accumulate new types of weapons, including chemical weapons.

In response to the interest shown by readers, we are publishing the articles "Chemical Weapons in the United States and FRG" and "Binary Nerve Cases in U.S. Plans."

Demands for a ban on toxic agents were formulated as far back as the jurists of ancient Rome: "War is waged with weapons, not with poison." In the Petersburg Declaration of 1868 the European powers condemned the use of toxic agents in wartime. The famous conferences on the limitation of their use were convened in The Hague in 1899 and 1907, and on 17 June 1925 a protocol was signed in Geneva banning "suffocants, toxic agents and other similar gases, as well as bacteriological agents." Next, in 1952, came the introduction in the UN Security Council of the Soviet Union's proposal to append a ban on chemical weapons to the Geneva disarmament protocol (1953).

In 1966 the UN General Assembly called for strict observance of the principles and aims of the Geneva protocol, and in 1969 the socialist countries again proposed to the UN General Assembly that a number of substances such as nitrogen-mustard gas, lewisite, hydrocyanic acid and phosgene be removed from armaments. The Huntsville chemical warfare arsenal was liquidated and the rest were modernized. GB gas was produced at the Edgewood arsenal and at the Rocky Mountain arsenal (Denver, Colorado). In addition a \$50-million plant for intermediate products was built at Muscle Shoals (Alabama), and an ammunition plant at the Denver arsenal. This entire complex functioned at full swing only up to 1957, after which the GB-gas production installations were mothballed in a state of readiness for rapid recommissioning.

In the same year Tamelin at the Swedish National Defense Research Institute synthesized a new family of toxic agents--the V-gases, characterized by exceptionally high toxicity. The next year the Pentagon made the decision to build a government plant in Newport, Indiana, which cost the American taxpayers about \$14 million. The plant was put into operation in 2 years' time. It was equipped with automated monitoring and process-control systems. Three hundred people were employed there and in 7 years approximately 5000 tons of V-gases were produced, after which the plant was mothballed.

Stoll and Hofmann synthesized LSD-25 40 years ago, but the American militarists did not concentrate their attention on psychochemical warfare agents until after 1953. An accelerated research program concluded with the adoption of "BZ," a new "humane agent" for the temporary incapacitation of troops that was tested in Vietnam. A special plant was also built to produce it.

Whereas irritant agents were used mainly to "smoke out guerrillas" in the jungles in order to make them leave their shelters, enormous quantities of defoliants (substances causing leaves to fall off) and herbicides for the destruction of crops were used in order to disclose the location of units.

The herbicides that were used were by no means harmless to people and animals. In 1963 there were 9,000 casualties, and in 1969 alone, 28,500, including 500 deaths.

In recent years the attention of Western military specialists has focused on the use of natural toxic agents as well. Technologies have already been devised for the production of certain toxins such as saxitoxin and botulinum toxin. Materials published by the U.S. Congress about an investigation of the activity of American intelligence services mention, inter alia, that saxitoxin was adopted by the CIA for use as a diversionary toxin in the performance of secret operations. Its action is similar to curare but the antidotes for curare are ineffective in this case. This toxic agent depresses the enzyme cholinesterase just as nerve gases do.

An intensive scientific research program is under way today in the area of chemical warfare agents and bacteriological toxins. Its scale can be judged in part, for example, from the military laboratories at Camp Detrick in Frederick, Maryland, which are at work on psychochemical and bacterial agents.

All these and many other factors indicate wide-scale and all-round preparation by the military circles of the NATO countries to wage war using chemical weapons. The new chemical warfare agents and bacterial toxins in small doses do serious injury to the organism (Table 1).

Table 1

Toxicity of Certain Toxic Agents and Toxins (Comparative Experiments Performed With Mice Injected With the Substance in Abdominal Region)

1 Вещество	2 Минимална смъртоносна доза, м /кг
3 Натриев цианид	10
4 Мускарин (психохимическо БОВ)	1,0
5 Табун	0,6
6 Сарин	0,1
7 V-газове	0,95
8 Тетраодотоксин	0,003
9 Ботулинов токсин "А"	0,0000003

Key:

1. Substance
2. Minimum lethal dose, mg/kg
3. Sodium cyanide
4. Muscarine (psychochemical agent)
5. Tabun
6. Sarin
7. V-gases
8. Tetraodotoxin
9. Botulinum toxin "A"

Not only large, but also small capitalist states possess chemical weapons, and this inevitably leaves its imprint on the functions performed by civil-defense staffs, services and formations in our time.

According to the concepts of Western military specialists, chemical agents have a number of "advantages" over conventional and nuclear weapons. They injure or destroy only people, animals and plants, while property is saved. To produce them, the production capacity of the chemical and pharmaceutical industry can in part be used. On the other hand, international inspection of the production and development of new, highly toxic compounds is severely hampered.

Chemical agents have a so-called "spatial character of action:" whereas a bullet or a shell produces injury only when it is in flight, these agents contaminate the terrain and the layer of air next to the ground for a long time. Special resources are needed for protection against them and this makes it imperative that the entire population (including adults and patients, children and nursing infants) be supplied with them.

According to the assessments of Western specialists, a comparatively large missile carrying highly toxic agents such as V-gases is capable of producing direct casualties among 30 percent of the population in open terrain within a diameter of 1.5 km, which for a large city means the death of thousands of people.

Comparatively old information (1960) of the American Chemical Society Civil Defense Committee shows that a B-52 plane can contaminate up to 250 square kilometers with a chemical agent and up to 100,000 square kilometers with bacteriological agents. To be sure, this is possibly only provided that the missile or aircraft is permitted to perform its missions with impunity.

The capitalist countries' potential capabilities of using chemical weapons in any possible war make it imperative to carry out comprehensive and complete training of the entire population of the country, and especially of engineering and technical personnel. The chiefs, commanders and specialists of the Civil Defense System and the leaders of training groups--being familiar in detail with the characteristics of chemical agents' casualty effect, as well as with methods of timely detection, decontamination and protective equipment--must train formations and the population to react quickly in a complex situation and make the right decisions for action.

Something that merits special attention is the psychological training of servicemen, which is an important precondition for the right actions in carrying out the complex activities involved in the degasification of contaminated areas. It is necessary to know and continually to explain the great effectiveness of the individual equipment we have for the protection of the respiratory organs and of the body against the respective chemical agents and bacterial toxins. Collective protective facilities (dugouts, shelters), equipped with filter-ventilator units, make it possible for

people to stay in them for a long time. This, however, is achieved by advance training of formations and of the population. Clarification and strict observance of the instructions for the use of shelters is a mandatory condition--all the more so since the new, highly toxic agents make it imperative to use the protective facilities without delay. But all this can be achieved solely by the systematic and all-round training of every citizen.

#### U. S. Binary Nerve Gases

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 9, 1979 pp 16-17

[Article by Senior Science Associate Boris Georgiev: "Binary Nerve Gases in U.S. Plans"]

[Text] Last year the world was shocked by a new surge of escalation in armament provoked by the U.S. military industrial complex. A presidential decree was signed not only for production of the components of the neutron bomb, but also for arming the American army with binary nerve gases, which had been experimented with for many years but not adopted for service on a mass scale. The news agencies reported that binary nerve gases would be produced at the Pine Bluff arsenal--one of the main centers for research on, and mass production of biological weapons (bacteria, viruses, Rickettsia). Chemical weapons (smokes, incendiary ammunition, the psychomimetic BZ, riot control gases including the superlachrymator C etc.) are produced here too.

At this military industrial center not only are formulas for biological and chemical weapons devised and introduced, but also bombs, projectiles and other ammunition loaded with biological and chemical weapons are produced and shipped to U.S. military bases all over the world or are left in a cold storage plant located in the region of the arsenal several hundred meters under ground.

What is the binary chemical weapon? It was developed on the principle of a twin-chamber arrangement of two low-toxicity compounds in one round of ammunition. At the moment of detonation they combine, forming a toxic agent with a powerful casualty effect on living beings.

The first bombs with such effect in the United States were created on the basis of arsenic compounds, and later on bombs with mustard-gas effect were produced too. With the discovery of, and extensive experimentation on nerve gases (tabun, sarin, soman and V-gases), demands began to be made for the introduction of binary gases on the principle of these supernerve gases, and as the second compound highly reactive mixtures that activate the formation of toxic agents are used.

In the United States it is believed that further improvement of chemical weapons involves extensive introduction of binary gases. For this purpose,

as far back as 1962 the Pentagon began to implement on a wide scale a special program to adopt binary chemical weapons for service. It is believed that this measure is of first-priority importance.

The Pentagon propaganda machine trumpets that binary chemical weapons have maximum promise of improvement because they are not subject to ban under existing international conventions. To be sure, there can be no ban on the production of the (in practice) nontoxic components of which these weapons are constructed since the components are also used for peaceful purposes (from them medicines, pesticides, household preparations--detergents, disinfectants etc. are made).

The mass production of binary chemical weapons can be organized much more rapidly than that of conventional chemical weapons which can be produced only in special chemical plants and laboratories staffed by specialized personnel. Moreover, any chemical plant whose production function is for peaceful purposes can be immediately adapted for the production of the nontoxic components of binary weapons.

The transoceanic militarists attach great significance to the fact that the production and storage of binary chemical weapons are safe. According to official data (because there are concealed cases, too), in 1969 23 American service personnel of the chemical weapons depots on the island of Okinawa, Japan sustained severe injuries from nerve gases. The same year an American serviceman sustained severe chemical intoxication with fatal outcome from working with chemical weapons at Fort Greeley (Alaska). An official representative of the Pentagon has admitted that from 1953 to 1960 more than 1000 persons were casualties in connection with the storage of nerve gases in the huge chemical depots at Rocky Mountain, Colorado, with the greatest number of accidents found among employees loading the ammunition and among depot laborers.

The production of binary chemical weapons makes possible the risk-free storage of reserves of their nontoxic components and, above all, the resale of those nontoxic components for industrial purposes before the expiration of their useful industrial life. This eliminates altogether the problem of destroying them. The destruction of reserves of toxic agents stored in depots is such a complex problem that in the past 15-20 years the United States, which several times (in most instances secretly!) has dumped in the ocean toxic agents that had become obsolete in respect of their combat characteristics or because of the shortening of their active life, encountered the resistance of public opinion throughout the world. In 1970 for months on end stories of news agencies throughout the world about the dumping of huge stocks of tabun and other toxic chemicals in the ocean were never absent from the pages of the newspapers.

These considerations make binary chemical weapons exceptionally suitable and promising for the plans of the U.S. military industrial complex. Here are some technical data about these weapons.

In 1962 an aerial binary chemical bomb, called "Big Eye" and intended for use on aircraft taking off from aircraft carriers, was developed for the air force and navy. Some models were also developed for ground forces, as well as artillery shells. In 1972 an experiment was conducted with the XM-687 155mm artillery shells. Sarin is produced from two nontoxic components in the shell after it is detonated. The two components of the projectile are placed in polyethylene containers and can be safely stored for a long time. Before firing, the projectile is loaded with the two containers holding the chemical components. It is supposed that the basis of the binary chemical weapons is the so-called intermediate nerve gases standing midway between sarin and the Vx-gases. Among these, soman enjoys special popularity. The raw materials for its production are pinacolone alcohol (one container is loaded with it) and difluoromethylphosphonate (the other container is loaded with it).

The containers of the binary chemical weapons are usually made of plastic. Under depot conditions they are stored outside the ammunition casing (or only one of them is in the ammunition).

The working principle of the artillery binary chemical charge is comparatively the simplest. One of the most important elements of binary chemical ammunition is a special device for mixing the two chemical components. The working principle of the binary chemical aerial bomb is considered to be the most complex. This bomb consists of a casing, stabilizer and nose. The chemical can be in powdered state in one of the chambers. One of the components is in the casing with a mixer and is kept separate from the other by a thin metal partition. Before actual ejection of the bomb the pilot presses an automatic device that actuates the pyrotechnic assembly and destroys the partition wall. A small electric motor that promptly actuates the mixer is automatically switched on. In this way the two chemical components are mixed and generate toxic agents.

There is binary chemical ammunition with special holders containing one of the chemical components, while the second one is loaded in the space between the holders.

Binary chemical weapons can be used by spraying with an aerial aerosol. The two chemical components are in two separate chambers with mixing by an agitator and the generation of toxic agents taking place in a third (mixing and reaction) chamber. The resultant toxic chemical is sprayed on the target to be destroyed by means of an aerosol assembly.

The creation of binary nerve gases is an attempt to legalize antipersonnel supertoxic chemical weapons. Obviously the injury done by these toxic elements will be analogous to that of the hitherto-known conventional nerve gases (sarin, soman and Vx-gases).

The adoption of binary chemical weapons for service shows that the United States, despite its ratification (and that only in 1974) of the 1925 Geneva

Convention banning the use of toxic agents, is continuing an even more intensified armaments race, including armament with supertoxic chemical weapons--nerve gases. Whatever the possibilities may be of camouflaging this production by virtue of the use of nontoxic initial components, their purpose remains the same--the conduct of infamous military operations for the destruction of people and animals--total biological genocide. This new rearmament production of the Pentagon's conceals a real danger to the peace and to the ecological equilibrium of the planet.

Defense against binary nerve gases is accomplished by putting on gas masks and protective covers immediately, as well as by using shelters. In case of need, injured skin areas are treated with the gas-casualty first-aid kit. It is also advisable to use antidotes for prophylactic or therapeutic purposes. Simultaneously with individual protection, a gas alarm is organized and mutual-aid and self-help measures are undertaken for personnel in the center of chemical contamination. Analogous measures are also taken for the protection of animals.

In order to employ all the above-mentioned measures rapidly and effectively, staffs, services, formations and the population must conduct constant training. The main thing in this training is for the personnel of formations and all citizens to gain firm knowledge and skills so as to use all available means of protection and of rendering mutual aid and self-help at the center of a chemical strike.

6474

CSO: 2200

BULGARIA

PROFILE, ACHIEVEMENTS OF COMPUTER SCIENTIST

Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 29 Oct 79 pp 1-2

[Article by Tanya Kondakova: "Thirst for Creativity"]



[Text] The closer the airplane was to Sheremet'yevo, the more frequently Zh'anko Paskalev look away from the window and at the small elegantly wrapped package--his most valuable possession. On any other occasion he might have

felt that it was odd for him to be excited, since our magnetic disc memory systems or, as they are known for the sake of brevity, disc systems, have already won a firm place on the European market! However, the prototype he was carrying to the representative Moscow exhibit hall had just come out of the laboratory. It had a quality leap compared with its old colleagues—a 200 megabytes!

He smiled at a calculation in his mind. Had such an amount of information been recorded, it would have amounted to carrying a large library totaling 160,000 pages. Yet, those in the know would require only 30 milliseconds to gain access to any one of them. Yet, the Bulgarian scientist was not deluding himself. Such micromeasures of time may seem unusual only to the nonspecialist. It was true that the item was a great accomplishment but not a worldwide sensation. Among others, he was thinking of the prestige of Bulgarian electronics and the responsibility of maintaining it.

The date was July 1979.

Engineer Paskalev had to take a number of initial steps in his career before standing firmly and solidly on the fertile soil of disc systems. Actually, looking back, it always seems to him that all his previous occupations showed some kind of streamlined consistency and spiral development, as though they were deliberately preparing them for a leading participation in this modern applied science activity. As early as 1953, as a sound operator in the motion pictures studio he developed a live and firm interest in magnetic recording. At that time, however, the young engineer did not even suspect that this was the base of tape and disc systems.

At that time everything looked like a string of accidents. For example, what was the similarity between the diploma of an electrical engineer and sound recording? Could it be that this choice was somewhat influenced by an old veneration of the harmony of sound? He could detect it everywhere with his innate musical ear. Naturally, however, his great esthetic pleasure came from listening to the classics. As a student, conducting an amateur orchestra, he would try to extract from the musicians—future engineers—the entire unreachable beauty of Beethoven's Kreuzer Sonata, or Mozart's Concert for Flute and Orchestra. . . .

However, he never felt divided between art and a precise science. Conversely, they complemented his spiritual life. How surprised he was to read that the structure of the piano is mathematical. It occurred to him to combine his two idols—to design a piano tuning instrument. He consulted famous scientists, his idea was praised, but... nothing came out of it. Three things remained from his attraction for music as a student: an inert need to regularly attend philharmonic concerts, to read new music scores and... to seek and develop harmony in technology, by rationalizing and improving it.

"A person must be very closely familiar with the condition and the state of the art of the area in which he works. No one who does not question can be creative. I have never been inspired 'from above'. Practice and practical requirements have always nurtured my ideas. . ."

Such was the case at the end of 1960. Filming had been delayed, and a number of films were awaiting their sound track. Briefly, the studio faced the real threat of not fulfilling its plan. Suddenly, engineer Paskalev and his colleague Krustev stated that instead of taking 14 shifts the sound track could be completed in...three! The statement was welcomed with puzzlement and skepticism. They explained the essence of their carefully planned idea: to use a double track on the tape consisting of a basic and spare recording. The method was accepted as a rationalization and was adopted as a basic method. . . .

Nevertheless, the young studio engineer still felt that something was lacking. He vaguely felt that his creative reserves were remaining unused. Why conceal it: He wanted to get into the very midst of a new and unknown field of science and technology. . .

It was precisely at that time that the computer boom broke out in the world. Bulgaria had to join it rapidly if it was to remain in step with the dynamic course of the scientific and technical revolution. However, this required starting with the very beginning. One day, Professor Lyubomir Iliev (now Academician) called engineer Paskalev with several colleagues in his office and informed them of the unusual news: "You are going to Dubna, to the Joint Institute for Nuclear Research. You will study the foundations of computer technology." He felt a lifetime gratitude toward this scientist who, in one fell swoop, gave a direction to his searching! He spent two years in Dubna. This was a concentrated and extremely stressed period, also enriched by contacts with scientific luminaries such as Academician A. A. Logunov, Professor Ye. P. Zhidkov, Corresponding Member N. N. Govorun....

A surprise awaited him in Bulgaria. The first Bulgarian-made computer "Vitoshka" had been developed. Compared with other achievements, it seemed quite "naive." Yet, at that time the people were not very demanding. It was developed without an industrial prototype, based only on the partial experience of mathematicians and engineers. It was followed by the famous Elka. The electronic workers began to acquire self-confidence. One of them was Zhivko Paskalev, an engineer with two diplomas awarded by the MEI [Moscow Power Engineering Institute]...

The way it happens to everyone, at one point engineer Paskalev faced the need to make a virtually fatal decision. Almost simultaneously he received two job offers: The first was quite tempting involving lengthy assignments in distant countries; the other involved only responsibilities. It called for a senior designer for disc systems. Mathematics includes the concept of necessity and adequate prerequisite. In engineer Paskalev's case this

could be expressed in the promising nature and significance of the topic and the abilities of the collective he was asked to head. Once again, he chose the risks of creativity.

"Let us not kid ourselves: Any job involves the surmounting of an inner resistance. But according to Mark Twain what you must do, what you are forced to do, is work. Any time I am asked to undertake something new, I think of the instructive case involving Tom Sawyer--the painting of the fence, do you remember it? I must tune myself up in such a way as to turn the obligation into something pleasant, into a pleasure. This has become my habit or, if you wish, my credo."

Engineer Paskalev approached the disc systems carefully, conscientiously, and zealously. These are qualities which apply more to a student and he displayed them precisely as such, absorbing the fraternal generous lessons of Soviet specialists. He hurled himself--to the extent to which this word could be applied to a scientific work--into systems as an independent developer. He went to Moscow to present at an exhibit the first among them--the ES-5052 (7.25 megabyte capacity). That was in 1971. Three years later, his adamant efforts, materialized, brought him the title of Dimitrov Prize Laureate.

The year 1974 was rich with happy events! Perhaps the richest so far. He was awarded the candidate degree (in the past he was annoyed by the fact that the topic of his dissertation was somewhat outside his steady work. Subsequently, however, it was the basis of four of his inventions!). Together with Stara Zagora engineer Ivan Ivanov, he earned an authorship certificate for his greatest invention and, as early as April, saw it applied in St. Zagora. This resolved the problem of compatibility among recordings made on different disc systems, i.e., of transferring without difficulty information recorded on any given disc at no cost! The equivalent, the reward for a creative effort, is 10 million leva savings over the past five years, and 10 patents registered in the most developed industrial countries. . . .

So far Senior Scientific Associate Zhivko Paskalev is the author of seven authorship certificates. Should someone jokingly ask him whether or not he will continue to add to his "collection," he would rarely consider this a hint of his insatiability. If, nevertheless, such insatiability exists, a certain unquenchable thirst, it has been cleansed from all other motivations other than the impossibility not to create. This is the case both when it is a part of his job and when the brain, unsuited to regimentation, simply entertains itself by looking for difficult solutions, the more so since today Bulgarian electronics greatly relies on creators like him so that it may develop further and become the basic motive force of scientific and technical progress.

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PRAGUE REPORTS ON BRATISLAVA RALLY MARKING OCTOBER REVOLUTION 6 NOVEMBER

LD071822 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 6 Nov 79 LD

[Text] Working people in Bratislava today recalled the 62d anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution at a meeting held in the Great Hall of the Park of Culture and Recreation, which was attended by CPCZ Central Committee members Josef Lenart, first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee; Slovak Premier Peter Colotka; Viliam Salgovic, member of the CPSL Central Committee presidium and chairman of the Slovak National Council; and other members of the CPSL Central Committee presidium Ladislav Abraham, Ignac Janak, Jan Janik, Elena Litvajova, Ludovit Pezlar, Miroslav Valek, and other personalities.

Comrade Jan Janik underlined in a solemn speech the successes of the Soviet people in the 62 years of the construction of socialism and communism, and emphasized the importance of the alliance with the Soviet Union for the construction of an advanced socialist society in our homeland.

He paid special attention to the efforts of the Soviet Union for peace in the world and for the strengthening of trust among states, which have been proved yet again by the peace initiative contained in the recent speech by Leonid Brezhnev in Berlin on the occasion of the GDR's 35th anniversary.

Participants in the festive meeting in Bratislava on the occasion of the 62d anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution cordially welcomed the address of Nikolay Goncharov, consul general of the Soviet Union in Bratislava.

CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

JANIK ADDRESSES BRATISLAVA RALLY MARKING OCTOBER REVOLUTION 6 NOVEMBER

LD071820 Prague CTK in English 1719 GMT 6 Nov 79 LD

[Text] Bratislava--The Great October Socialist Revolution was the first victorious socialist revolution in the world which broke the monopoly of imperialism and began to change the political and socio-economic face of the world.

This was said here on Tuesday by member of the presidium and secretary of the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee Jan Janik addressing a rally to mark the 62nd anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The Soviet people, following the principles of proletarian internationalism, have been granting all-round political and economic assistance to the socialist countries and those states which have been heading towards socialism in their development. The Soviet Union is the main pillar of peace in the world, a reliable supporter of all progressive forces, struggling for progress, socialism and peace, Jan Janik said.

At a time when certain Western politicians try to convince the nations of their countries that they have to spend much more financial means on armament than ever before in the interest of their security, when these expenditures are really being spent in an increased amount, when the bourgeois mass information media and propaganda produce fabrications about a "Soviet military superiority" and a "further growth of armament in the Soviet Union," the Soviet Union has put forward a new peace initiative, announced by Leonid Brezhnev in Berlin recently, Jan Janik said.

CSO: 2020

CSSR'S INDRA, MAMULA VISITING NORTH MORAVIAN MINERS

Prague PRACE in Czech 16 Nov 79 p 3 AU

[Report signed (CHM): "Comrade A. Indra In His Constituency; Miners' Socialist Pledge"]

[Excerpts] A. Indra, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly, accompanied by representatives of the North Moravian party and state bodies led by M. Mamula, leading secretary of the CPCZ's North Moravian Region Committee, yesterday visited miners of the Red October Mine, the subsidiary of the Ostrava-Karvina Mines enterprise, in his Ostrava 2 constituency.

After a chat with representatives of the mine's party, trade union and youth organization and of the management about the results achieved this year and about tasks awaiting miners, Comrade Indra descended before noon to a shaft on the fifth level to one of the best work groups of the Red October enterprise--to P. Kralik's preparatory [pripravarsky] collective of the Brigade of Socialist Labor 2d Class. [passage omitted]

In the afternoon, in a chat with miners, the management of the Red October Mine and the representatives of the Ostrava 2 district National Committee, Comrade Indra thanked them for the efforts with which they and the other working people and citizens of the district tackle and fulfill the exacting tasks of the national economy. He also spoke about the necessity for an open and principled criticism of all shortcomings in our society. [passage omitted].

CSO: 2400

CPCZ DAILY URGES EFFECTIVE WORK WITH PARTY RESOLUTIONS

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Nov 79 p 1 AU

[Editorial: "To Work More Effectively With Resolutions"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] The demand voiced by the 11th CPCZ Central Committee session [in March 1978] about the need to improve the quality of all phases of work with resolutions, about their timely and comprehensive breakdown for local conditions, about fixing the procedure and responsibility and insuring the consistent implementation of control, this demand is being implemented with insufficient consistency. In this connection reserves are becoming apparent in our enhancing the role of members' meetings, in improving the quality of committee work and particularly in work with the party groups. This conclusion was drawn from the knowledge gleaned by the central control and auditing commissions of the CPCZ and the Slovak Communist Party [CPSL] and by the regional and district auditing commissions in many all-factory committees and basic organizations when checking up on work concerning the 11th CPCZ Central Committee resolution. [passage omitted]

This check-up showed that after the 11th CPCZ Central Committee session the party organizations adopted comprehensive measures on the further procedure in fulfilling the 15th CPCZ Congress conclusions and that in most organizations these measures show relatively good standards. They are aimed at the main economic, political, ideological and intra-party matters. The valuable thing is that their orientation unifies the efforts of communists, economic management and social organizations in insuring the decisive tasks within the framework of the party organization's activities. It must also be added, however, that certain party organizations adopted scarcely specific, concrete and time-specified measures, which had the nature of a proclamation, rather than of a businesslike measure; and it is clear as day that such a course cannot yield the desired result. [passage omitted]

Not everywhere is the influence of party organizations on the solution of emerging problems being successfully and decisively strengthened; particularly not in places where work is going on under complicated conditions. The fact that the insuring of many tasks is far above the possibilities of basic organizations results in a number of instances in the failure of the

organization to consistently fulfill even those tasks, the solution of which is within its power, and also in its concentrating on discussions about the shortcomings of higher economic bodies. This is the way it was, for instance, in the party organization of the SEVEROCESKA KONSTRUKTIVA plant, which had not fulfilled the planned tasks either in 1977 or in 1978. [passage omitted]

We know of the important role played in our national economy by the export of high-quality and technically perfect products. Not all exporting enterprises are successfully coping with the plan. For instance the ELITEX plant in Cervený Kostelec does not. We will not go into details; but the staggering fact is that this plant is to produce a machine which has a 40-percent higher electric power consumption per 1 kilogram of yarn produced than the prior type machine had. The responsibility for the technical state of this machinery lies with the ELITEX plant in Usti nad Orlicí. The CPCZ District Committee Presidium in Nachod dealt twice with this situation in the first half year of 1979. It adopted cadre measures for improving the quality of work in the CPCZ all-factory committee, and its decisions committed the enterprise management to speed up the solution of existing problems. Yes, shortcomings must be pointed out and solved in time. This is the road toward eliminating them.

Most of the party organizations checked have fixed in the measures for implementing the conclusions of the 11th session also the tasks providing prerequisites for the economical use of means and for efficiency of production. Thus, due to the joint efforts of the party organization, economic executives and social organizations, a certain improvement was achieved in a number of enterprises and plants. In some places the establishment of good conditions is now making it possible to enhance shift intensity, and thus also the utilization of basic assets. [passage omitted]

Nevertheless, the developments in a number of enterprises and plants, particularly in engineering, is completely different and the shift intensity there is decreasing. The utilization of the fund of working hours is also low. This testifies to scarcely effective management and control work of executives and to an insufficiently demanding attitude of party organizations in pushing through the 11th CPCZ Central Committee session's conclusions in this sphere. It is therefore appropriate to repeatedly revert to the 11th session and consistently to implement all its conclusions. [passage omitted]

CSO: 2400

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### FOJTIK SPEAKS AT KLEMENT GOTTWALD MUSEUM CEREMONY

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Nov 79 pp 1, 2

[Speech by Jan Fojtik, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, at the 25th anniversary celebration of the founding of the Klement Gottwald Museum, 19 November 1979 in Prague: "The Strength of Revolutionary Traditions; Comrade Gustav Husak at Ceremonial Gathering in Klement Gottwald Museum"]

[Text] Prague, 19 November (from our correspondent). A ceremonial gathering took place on Monday in the Klement Gottwald Museum in Prague. On the occasion of the 25th anniversary of its founding, the General Secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and President of the CSSR Gustav Husak presented the Order of Victorious February to the museum, an award conferred according to a proposal of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee for its long-term education of workers in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism, socialist patriotism on the basis of revolutionary traditions and the history of the CPCZ. After the museum director, Jaroslav Pospisil, welcomed the delegation of the CPCZ Central Committee and all the participants in the celebration, the secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, Jan Fojtik, delivered the keynote speech.

From the Speech of Comrade Jan Fojtik

Twenty five years ago, in the presence of the former president of the Czechoslovak republic, Antonin Zapotocky, the first exhibition of the Klement Gottwald Museum was opened and thereby initiated the activity of this museum.

The decision to build a museum, the original conception of which included the goal of documenting the history of the revolutionary struggles of our people from Hussitism to socialist construction, was made in April 1952. After the death of Comrade Gottwald, it was decreed to name this museum after him.

In this way, the party payed homage to one of the greatest sons of the Czechoslovak working class, to a leading figure in our own as well as the international communist movement. It was an expression of recognition of the extraordinary credit due to Klement Gottwald for the creation and

Bolshevik tempering of the revolutionary proletarian vanguard, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, for the victory of the popular democratic revolution in our country, for the fact that our people could build their own state and safely set out on the path to socialism in firm alliance with the people of the Soviet Union and of other nations of the socialist community. The activity of Comrade Gottwald in the leadership of the party and new state is unforgettably linked with the culmination of the historical struggles of our people for national and social freedom.

It was, therefore, symbolic that Klement Gottwald's birthday was chosen as the date of the birth of the museum: it was officially opened on 23 November 1954.

From its inception, the Klement Gottwald Museum has undertaken important work. With the exception, fortunately, of only a short time, marked by the results of the crisis in the party at the end of the 1960's, it has fulfilled its honorable calling: it has assembled valuable and rich documentation concerning the beginnings of the revolutionary movement in our country, concerning the militant path of our working class and its communist party to the victory of the revolution, concerning the history of socialist construction in our country: it has become a living monument and witness to the greatness of our most recent history, the core of which is the revolutionary movement of the most progressive social force of modern history, the working class, and the activity of its avant garde, the communist party, which led our nation to socialism.

It is not accidental, therefore, that the Klement Gottwald Museum has acquired for itself a famous and acknowledged place today in the network of cultural and educational establishments of our nation. And it gives me great pleasure to state that most of its visitors come from the ranks of youth. Boys and girls come here from elementary and secondary schools, from apprenticeship organizations; pioneers stow their promises here; members of the Union of Socialist Youth, young shock workers, candidates of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and young party members all gather here.

The museum thus contributes, in its own way and according to its own strengths, so that the torch which a handful of socialist pioneers once raised, and which was carried, after a generation, in tenacious battles with the bourgeoisie, landowners and foreign oppressors, might burn today as well with a clear light, at a time when the long standing dream of the exploited for a just society is being realized, and has already been realized in many ways.

The date 30 April 1974 is an important landmark in the history of the Klement Gottwald Museum. On that date, after several years of effort by museum workers and several other institutions and organizations, the current permanent exhibition was ceremonially opened in the presence of a delegation of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee led by the General Secretary of the Central Committee, Comrade Gustav Husak. The conception of the exhibition, which defines the exhibition as covering the time period from the beginnings of the Czechoslovak working class

movement to the present day, was worked out on the basis of a 1970 decision of the Secretariat of the CPCZ Central Committee. The exhibition devotes considerable attention to socialist construction, which is the outcome of a creative application of Leninist principles to our conditions. It reflects the historical experience of the party, gained in the struggle with counterrevolution and its revisionist helpers and as it was generalized in the lesson from the crisis in the evolution of the party and society following the 13th CPCZ Congress.

At the time of the opening of the new exhibition, Comrade Husak wrote some significant words in the guest book of the museum, words which have become a directive for the work of its whole collective. Allow me to recall them: "May this exhibition of the struggles of our working class and working people, of the sacrificial attitude and proud successes in the building of socialism serve as a lesson to the current generation and as an inspiration for further effort, for the development of our socialist homeland."

We can state, I think, that it is in this sense that the hundreds of thousands of visitors to the Klement Gottwald Museum evaluate his work, the outcomes of which are currently the fruit of the efforts of a broad association of devoted coworkers from our country and from abroad.

The decision of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee to award the Klement Gottwald Museum this high honor, the Order of Victorious February, on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the opening of its activities is an expression of a high evaluation of the work of the museum and a recognition of its difficult tasks in the political educational work of the party. The 25th anniversary of the Klement Gottwald Museum causes us to once again remind ourselves of the important place in the overall ideological and political work of the party occupied by education in socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism, in pride in our revolution and the socialist order, education in respect for the revolutionary and progressive traditions of our people, for the courageous struggle of those who were before us, who prepared and fought for our present. Socialism was born of their immeasurable efforts, of a heroism which must not be forgotten.

From time to time we must again and again put the question and attempt to carefully answer it: Do we know well the legacy of these warriors, are we true to it, are we developing it according to all of our potentials? Are we preserving and guarding it as the most valuable of all possessions? Are we preparing the way for future generations in its spirit? Are we acting and proceeding with the awareness of historical responsibility, to which the great past and the goals which our movement has set for itself commit us?

Scarcely anyone can doubt the legitimacy of such questions in a party which underwent such complex development and which was literally reborn after the spring of 1969, so that it could return to its Leninist foundations and at the same time demonstrate that after all of these wanderings and

confusion it was capable of solving the problems raised by the times, of decisively and firmly leading our society to a many-faceted development of socialism.

Yes, the program of the April session of the party Central Committee, which Comrade Gustav Husak inspired and put through, could emerge victorious and achieve its intentions in the extraordinarily difficult process of consolidation of the party and society and finally in the realization of the demanding program of the 14th and 15th CPCZ Congresses only thanks to this courageous and energetic approach, the source of which is the awareness of historical responsibility and the related capacity for relentless and incorruptible critical and self-critical analysis. This method has demonstrated its creative force because it has been based on principles, on the negation of formalism and all opportunism, because it has summoned people to an uncompromising struggle with shortcomings and abuses of all types, with everything which weakens socialism, to the decisive, constructive solution of problems, in whatever sector they may appear, in party work or in administrative economic activity.

It is no accident that V. I. Lenin recognized, in the capacity for a critical view and especially for self-critical analysis, the fundamental criterion of the political maturity of a party, the extent to which it is a vanguard, realizing its leadership task and conscious of its true responsibilities, its true historical mission, its responsibility with respect to those who it leads, before the popular masses.

The famous November 1974 session of the party Central Committee called attention to this principled approach. It was raised in its full significance and extent, particularly in the area of economic policy, at the March meeting this year of the party Central Committee, when control of the fulfillment of the resolutions and decisions of the 15th Party Congress was on the agenda, when impetus was given to the whole party to be concerned with the responsibility of all of its members in the implementation of its policy. Here again Comrade Husak reminded delegates of the necessity for critical rigorousness in the judgment of the quality and outcome of work, no matter which sector or individual is being discussed.

There can be no doubt that the consistent application of this fundamental directive of the March session of the party Central Committee, the method of critical rigorousness, which it is necessary to apply especially in administrative work, is one of the main conditions for our further progress. It is a prerequisite for the successful management of problems placed before us by the development of a developed socialist society and the difficulties which confront us as a consequence of various subjective errors and complicated objective conditions which had not been counted on yesterday or which for one or another reason were unpredictable. We have not overlooked the rejoicing of our enemies, when there began to be open talk of serious difficulties and previously unresolved problems. This attests to the fact in their view that we are heading for an unavoidable crisis. And immediately there are many prophets and wise men: are we not perhaps

getting into a situation reminiscent of the period in the second half of the 1960's? At that time, things also began with criticism. These people want nothing so much as a return of disturbances and shocks which would threaten the socialist order. From their viewpoint, the appearance of such a situation would mean a "new democratization," "a new process of revival."

We can, however, assure them: You will again experience frustration. We have learned well from the past, we have recognized, what a "modern" furtive counterrevolution represents, the meaning of its demagoguery and teachery as well as the necessity for vigilance, not to permit any liberalism especially when fundamental matters, the principles of socialism, are at issue. The problems which we are solving today are of a totally different character than those before which we helplessly stood in the 1960's. Our situation is completely different, whether it is a matter of the resistive power and firmness of our political system, its capacity for reacting to development, or of our international position within the socialist community, our international ties which are unbreakable. We have nothing to fear from material criticism, from a just analysis. Such analysis can only multiply our strengths. It serves and must serve a single purpose, a deeper understanding of the reasons for various shortcomings, the adoption of necessary and efficient measures for the mobilization of forces, the principled solution of problems. In a socialist society this also necessarily demands the broad cooperation of administrative organs and work collectives, proceeding together in the interest of the development of socialism and its further strengthening. This fundamental principle strengthens the authority of the party, its leadership task and influence.

Propaganda instruments operate and must operate in this spirit. This is especially true of the communications media which in a socialist society have an important mission both in the true, objective informing of the public (which includes the uncovering of shortcomings and various deformation) as well as in the unification of society for creative work, for the struggle in the realization of the party program (which does not take place without the pillorying of many abuses, of everything foreign to socialism, which might be gladly parasitic on its healthy organism).

We remember how many publicists in the 1960's, under the pretext of criticism which would lead to an alleged "improvement" of socialism, defamed our institutions, the revolutionary path of the working class and our friends, how they attacked socialist values, spread negativism, uncertainty and panic. They are not alone, however, in bearing the responsibility for what happened. As to the rest, time has separated severely and justly the kernel from the husk, the tare from the wheat. It is no accident that these "excommunists," as they still have the courage to call themselves, send us their messages from [Radio] Free Europe and anticommunist centrals, in whose pay they have clearly worked for a long time.

Our ideological front, and we use this word characterizing its militant mission with pride today, in which mass communication media have an undoubtedly fundamental and very responsible place, has made definite conclusions from the past. It views its primary responsibility, as defined by the 14th and 15th CPCZ Congresses, completely clearly as a constructive effort to aid as efficiently as possible the implementation of party policy, its program formulated at the last two congresses and elaborated in the decrees of the party Central Committee and its organs. It is therefore attempting, and in this lies its specific task, to see that the workers properly understand party policy, that they completely understand the foundations on which it rests and in what directions and to what goals it is heading; that they completely identify themselves with the principles of this policy, are deeply convinced of its necessity and also of the need to proceed with initiative and responsibility in its implementation; that they not give up in the face of shortcomings but meet them actively.

We know that in practice matters are often very difficult. What, therefore, gives people the strength in the daily struggle for the implementation of the demanding tasks of party policy, for the realization of its principles? What gives them the certainty in the face of all the complexities and failures of development? What is the source of their conscientiousness, responsibility, discipline and in more than one instance a remarkable devotion? It is not any kind of preaching or propaganda which limits itself to the declaration of abstract truths, it is the irrefutable reality that they finally convince themselves in practice, that party policy has always followed and follows a single basic goal: the well being of the working man. They convince themselves that it is a fundamentally deeply human and truly democratic policy, a policy guaranteeing the real development of our homeland, its freedom and sovereignty in the united family of the states of the socialist community, a life for people in creative work and peace. Socialism, democracy and peace are indivisible.

The recognition of the historical path of the revolutionary working class, of the history of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, significantly contributes to the strengthening of this conviction among the great majority of our people. What is the fundamental truth of this history, anchored in the experiences of the working class, of the broad popular masses? It is the recognition that in the struggles of the proletariat and the workers against capitalist exploiters, against bourgeois power, in the national liberation struggle of the Czechs and Slovaks against fascist slavery, in the post-war changes which were events of the vast majority of the people, the party was always in its place, at the side of the workers, in the front ranks of the militants who did not fear the greatest personal sacrifices, even death. The communist example is an example of members of the avant garde, of revolutionaries always united with the people, true to working class interests, to the liberation of work.

What political party from the ranks of our enemies can take pride in such a pleiad of heroes symbolized by names like Julius Fucik, Jan Sverma! They depended upon the wide hinterland, they were fused with the people as a tree with the earth. And they were not exceptional personalities in the sense of some exclusiveness. With them and in their footsteps have gone thousands and hundreds of thousands of comrades, the names of whom, unfortunately, are gradually being forgotten, but which still live in the immortal creation of the party and the people, in the revolutionary changes in our country, in socialist reality and in socialist successes.

Communists were on the front lines of the battle front and have always been and still are on the front lines of the work front. It is to the credit of the Klement Gottwald Museum that it vividly and convincingly documents this task of the party, on which is based its leadership role in the National Front, its authority and enormous influence, and that at the same time it points out, from what this unique position of the party, won through its whole historical development, stems and the ways in which it is being strengthened.

The basis of this position (and this will never be understood by the ideologists of so-called Eurocommunism, for whom it strangely remains a riddle how a party can implement political leadership in the socialist power system and at the same time guarantee its deep, qualitatively new and true democratic character) is the reality that it administers its activity according to the teachings of scientific socialism, the theories of Marxism-Leninism, that it consistently act in the spirit of proletarian and socialist internationalism. This, above all, impresses upon it the character of a revolutionary branch of the working class, capable of serving the people, defending their interests, implementing a principled policy, adequately reacting to the demands of development, creatively elaborating the political strategy and tactics of the class struggle, properly defining a program in all of the individual stages of the historical path to communism.

Experience shows that whenever the party diverges from the generally valid teaching of Leninism, which is the Marxism of our epoch, the epoch of the progression of mankind to socialism, it always pays with losses and unnecessary sacrifices.

The attempts of revisionists to place national factors against the international interests of our party and socialist state were especially dangerous. It appears that this is true universally. Little can more greatly damage the pursuit of socialism and progress, the anti-imperialist battle carried on on all continents, than expressions of petty nationalism or national chauvinism, as we are witnessing it in the horrible and dangerous form and case of great Chinese hegemonism. It is imperialism and its most reactionary elements which gain advantage from such deformations of Marxism-Leninism. And they are also always capable of exploiting them.

Nor is the anger with which they attack our party and our country accidental. They do this especially because they cannot forgive us for the failure of their attempt to use the counterrevolution in Czechoslovakia and drive a wedge between the nations of the socialist community. It seemed that they had already succeeded. But their whole strategy came to grief finally against the firm dike of solidarity of our countries. In defiance of the definitive decision of history they consider our territory as some kind of component of their own "Eurozones," and clearly think that they have an historical right to interfere in our affairs, to dictate to us, as they have in the past, their will, their primitive conceptions. They behave themselves particularly indiscriminately in their attacks on our institutions in connection with the famous campaign for the defense of human rights. It is a true case of the stubborn garden. It is a mockery of healthy intelligence, one of the many paradoxes of contemporary imperialism. Representatives of American imperialism, which is known for its brutality, it is sufficient to recall Vietnam for hundreds of examples, which became not by accident the United States' nightmare, pretend to be the defenders of human rights, dare to speak of human rights. Those who at the present time are not hiding their new armaments programs, who can cynically and with impunity declare that the next thermonuclear war will take place in Europe, have a nerve to pose as humanists.

The attacks which the various ideological mercenaries of imperialism, as well as the ranks of renegades, conduct against us, bring them no distinction.

They will not achieve their goal in our country. We rest on the experience of history and know that the strength of our party has been and continues to be its unification of socialist patriotism with internationalism. "The whole of our historical experience," stated Comrade Gustav Husak at the 15th Congress, "shows that there can be no real patriotism without conscious internationalism, that internationalists are also the most consistent, committed and true patriots. Relations between our peoples and nationalities are developing according to these principles. Proletarian and socialist internationalism is one of the pillars of our foreign policy and one of the sources of the firm position which our country has in the world, it is the basis of the fraternal relations of our people with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. From this springs class solidarity and the close alliance of the Czechoslovak people with revolutionary forces the world over....

To defend, assert and develop the ideals of proletarian and socialist internationalism, this elevated principle of the international revolutionary movement, is the lifetime interest of all levels of working people.

To proceed in the spirit of these words of Comrade Husak, which became an important directive of the 15th Congress, means in practice to create one of its most important prerequisites, so that we can always answer the previously posed questions positively and in advance, proceed to the tasks which stand before us today, to the problems which we must solve, with a consciousness of historical responsibility, with the lessons of the past.

So that there cannot be the least doubt that we are approaching the future with full respect and reverence for the great works of the revolutionary fighters of previous generations, faithful to the ideals of the workers revolutionary movements, to the living and immortal legacy of Lenin, the Great October Socialist Revolution and the legacy of our own February 1948.

Precisely this approach will further strengthen our revolutionary will, our certainty and healthy optimism, elan and decisiveness which we will without a doubt still need in our work, in our life.

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CSO: 2400

CPCZ WEEKLY NOTES 'RACIST TENDENCIES', 'FASCIST SYMBOLS' AMONG YOUTH

AU190818 Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 45 7 Nov 79 pp 4, 5 AU

[Interview with Dr Antonin Robek by Miroslav Vizdal, assistant professor and candidate of sciences, chairman of the Institute for Ethnography and Folklore of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences: "Tradition as a Source of Instruction"; place and date of interview not specified]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted]

[Question] Tradition is something that belongs to the past, what positive lessons can be drawn from it for the present and the future?

[Answer] The best way of explaining it is perhaps to use a concrete example. I belong to a generation that witnessed capitalism, fascism and the liberation and which, of course, actively participated in the building of socialism. We waged a struggle against exploitation and fascism and that endows us with the strength today to actively build an advanced socialist society and to foster internationalist fraternity. [passage omitted] Those combat traditions urge us strongly to be vigilant whenever phenomena typifying fascism and imperialism occur in the world.

We have also waged a struggle against the seemingly less dangerous petty bourgeois, chauvinistic and nationalistic traditions. We rightly reject them, but the vestiges of those traditions require a persistent struggle against them even today. They affect, after all, all generations. The problems connected with those traditions are frequently complex; some of the adverse phenomena cannot be recognized immediately and it is, therefore, imperative to study them thoroughly and systematically in all their negative forms and to expose the social threat they represent. Recognition of them is a positive thing that makes it possible to find new and more effective ways of eliminating them.

[Question] To what degree are those findings applicable to the education of the young generation? It is precisely the young generation that is the target of Western propaganda today as the segment of society that is easiest to influence....

[Answer] They are fully applicable, on all occasions. However, they must be applied in a comprehensive manner--in the family, at school, at the place of work and in social life. The father's word, thus, is as important as the concert of a popular singer, a film performance or a soccer match. Neglect in regard to some negative traditions or indifference can result in such incomprehensible phenomena as the young people wearing symbols of fascism or various religions, the occurrence of racist tendencies and the adoption of symbols that are alien to the way we feel and to the substance of the socialist society. Let us also ponder what gives rise to such "traditional" phenomena as, for instance, moonlighting, bribery, alcoholism and the like! What else is the cause for uncritical admiration of the capitalist way of life or Western technology if not lack of knowledge and the neglect of education instilling socialist patriotism and [a positive] attitude toward the fatherland!" [passage omitted]

[Question] Which of the negative traditions survive, according to the findings of ethnographers, in the minds of children and the youth and how can one fight them?

[Answer] Youth is a shapable age; the youth easily adopts a great deal from the past if it sees it in its surroundings. The youth is, however, equally capable of adapting the legacy of traditions to its mentality. It adopts both positive and negative habits. In this respect it does not, of course, differ from the preceding generations.

Least effective in influencing the youth are instructions and orders given regardless of whether the young people have, in fact, grasped their purpose. In such cases the natural (and, on the whole, harmless) aversion can turn into a proclivity toward the opposite phenomena--petty bourgeois ways, nihilism and skepticism. That is precisely what Western propaganda exploits. That is why it is so important to pass on the progressive traditions leading to a positive attitude to the fatherland and the socialist society, to patriotic pride and civic awareness, in an informal manner. Naturally, those features do not come into being spontaneously. One has to see to their formation and their development--in the family, in the factory, in the organization of the socialist youth union, in the trade unions. It is precisely the youth organization that plays an irreplaceable role here. What is at stake is not, after all, merely the symbolic passing on of the baton from generation to generation but the very future of the socialist society. To fill the continuous contention between the old and the new with positive contents is a matter concerning parents as well as educators, elder colleagues and all citizens who really care about the socialist future.

CSO: 2400

## CPCZ'S POLEDNIK ADDRESS STUDENTS ON INTERNATIONAL ISSUES

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Nov 79 pp 1, 2 AU

["SK"--signed report on a speech by Jindrich Polednik, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, at a rally marking International Students Day, held in Prague on 15 November: "The Bequest of 17 November"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] For 34 years the European continent has been living in peace. This fact, unprecedented in the history of Europe, confirms that it is within the power of the peace-loving forces of the world to avert the threat of a war conflagration. The fact, however, that far from all countries on our planet enjoy peace and that there still exists the threat of a global war, a threat that is caused by the plans of the most reactionary imperialist forces, makes the insuring of peace on the Earth the most important task of the present.

The whole progressive world acknowledges and appreciates the Leninist peace policy of the Soviet Union and its attempts to settle open international questions by quiet, peaceful means, to put an end to the feverish pursuit of armament and to preserve peace. We witnessed its recently when comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, spoke in Berlin on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the foundation of the GDR. The Soviet Union's new peace initiative is an expression of the genuine and profound interest in lessening military tension and a telling proof that the path to actual disarmament does not lead by way of words but by way of deeds.

The fact that more than a billion dollars is spent on armaments in the world every day shows how topical and pressing the question is. The consumption of energy and raw materials for military purposes is no less enormous. In a situation when the world has to solve complex raw material and energy problems, armament devours vast quantities of crude oil, fissionable materials and other raw materials. Those in the West who are spending more and more billions on armaments surely know very well that only a fraction of the current armament expenditures could resolve such pressing problems as the malnutrition of children in the capitalist and, above all, the developing countries. They know the data calculated by Western scientists, who

figured out that a single F-14 aircraft costs exactly the same as the construction of nine schools. For the price of a single nuclear-powered Trident submarine one could provide school education for 16 million children for a whole year. Yes, the Western governments know all that, yet they are releasing more and more billions to build lethal weapons; yet the NATO strategists want to deploy American Pershing II missiles and cruise missiles near the borders of the socialist countries. This is, in fact, the humanism bourgeois propaganda likes to talk about so much.

The desperate attempt of the enemies of the policy of detente among states with different social systems cannot, however, stop the course of history. More than ever before, the fate of mankind is determined by the forces of peace, democracy and social progress. At the 28th congress of the Leninist Komsomol Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said: "No one wishes more than the Soviet Union, which was affected most of all by the Second World War, that peace in Europe may never be violated again." And he continued: "It is our conviction that mankind's efforts must focus on successfully protecting our Earth and on passing it on to the young generation with all its riches and beauty, not crippled by the flames of a war conflagration."

Let those wise words be a challenge and a commitment for us, Comrade Jindrich Polednik said at the close of his address. Let us remain faithful--in the interest of a happy life in peace--to the ideals for which whole generations of students had fought in the past. To fulfill that noble mission means to return again and again to the bequest of 17 November, in the interest of progress and democracy, in the interest of the most sacred right of each man--the right to a life in peace.

CSO: 2400

CPCZ DAILY CITES PRESENT TASKS OF WORLD-OUTLOOK EDUCATION

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Nov 79 p 4 AU

[Article by Vladimir Gerloch: "We Trust in the People's Creative Abilities; World Outlook and Religion"]

[Excerpts] The characteristics of our present world includes the fact that the ideological struggle of the two world socio-economic systems is constantly intensifying and the role and significance of ideological confrontation are constantly growing. In this struggle for the minds of the broadest masses an important place still belongs to religion.

True, the influence of religion and of churches has for many years shown a palpable decline, of which the church officials are very well aware. Nevertheless, the number of believers is still large and the individual churches are still powerful and influential institutions with a rich material base, a numerous, well prepared and all-present apparatus and a considerable influence on political parties, on social organizations and on various manifestations of social life. [passage omitted]

Therefore we communists must not underrate the influence exerted by religion and by churches; we must not look on with indifference, while the political and ideological manipulators of the modern capitalist world and also certain church dignitaries, try to abuse the people's religious feelings in the interests of capitalism and for anticommunist aims. [passage omitted]

The attitude of Marxism-Leninism to religion is based on the thesis that religion is, with regard to the state, a private affair; but simultaneously it is not, and cannot be, a private affair with regard to the revolutionary party. [passage omitted]

We communists regard the conflict between atheists and believers as a derived expression of a basic class conflict. That is why the party always subordinated its attitude toward religion and believers to the proletariat's class interests. It always formulated its slogans so that they did not separate

the diverse working people's strata from the conscious-minded core of the workers class but, on the contrary, unified them in the fight against exploiters and for socialism.

But at the same time we stress that religion is not a private affair with regard to the communist party; we stress that this party is based on the Marxist-Leninist world outlook, a vital part of which is scientific atheism. [passage omitted]

But the stress on the objective conditions of the existence and the overcoming of religion is aimed against petty-bourgeois radicalism as regards religion, against the notion that a socialist state should simply forbid religion. [passage omitted]

The socialist state guarantees the freedom of religious belief or nonbelief; simultaneously it is an institution which significantly shares in rearing the people in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism. Criticism of idealist religious ideas is part and parcel of spreading the scientific world outlook which, in keeping with the changing conditions and the development of science, is striving to shape the citizen of the socialist state into being an active creator of social values. [passage omitted]

The propaganda of scientific atheism is consciously linked with the centuries-old traditions of the anticlerical fight of the best sons and daughters of our nation, with the Hussite revolutionary movement, the struggle of Havlicek and Neruda against obscurantism and clerical reaction, and the atheism of the pioneer workers movement.

This propaganda has two aspects: criticism of religion and the positive spreading of the scientific world outlook among the broadest masses. Apart from the critical aspect of atheist propaganda, at present emphasis is placed on spreading the scientific world outlook. [passage omitted]

We communists are convinced that differences as to the world outlook are no obstacle for unifying forces for the common participation in socialist construction and in the fight for peace. Within the framework of valid norms, the believers have full possibility for participating in religious life. But at the same time we are striving to make the broadest strata of our people acquire, and adopt as their own, the scientific world outlook--and this includes the followers of pre-Marxist atheism, as well as people who are indifferent to religion, and also those with religious inclinations and believers. We are not acting against believers; we are fighting against religious ideology. [passage omitted]

CPCZ DAILY CITES REASONS FOR SUSPENSION OF PLANT DIRECTOR

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Nov 79 p 3 AU

[Article by Jaroslava Janackova: "Why He Was Recalled; a Lesson Learnt by the Working and Party Collective"]

[Summary] "This June the director of the 'Cement Works and Lime-Kiln Construction' plant in Prague 5 -- Radotin had to leave his post. His name is no longer important. The important thing is the lesson to be learned from this case."

The plant, established on 1 January 1975, was staffed with experienced specialists and had a director who was expected to insure the rational use of investments. At the beginning it seemed as though he would fulfill expectations. The employees worked with a will and spent a lot of their free time at work.

Then something unexpected happened: "Instead of appreciating the work of his employees and supporting it, the new director started overlooking it.

"The plant began to lag in the fulfillment of the economic plan. The director tried to explain this away by saying that the subcontractors were not fulfilling their commitments and the higher bodies not solving certain problems. He did not, however, look for mistakes in his own organization, in his own management work. Disorder reigned in the plant, the economy, was bad and control was lacking. The employees had to cope with the solution of problems on their own, and even had no possibility of informing the director about working matters.

"The director cast doubts on the people's initiative when they suggested well-founded saving measures in the pre-blueprint and blueprint preparation of the new combine," on the construction of which they were working. Although the management had a worked-out "program of cadre work, it was not being fulfilled. During the 3 years since the establishment of the new organization, its management had not worked out a cadre analysis which could be used for determining the long-term training of people and their placement according to qualification, political, working and other prerequisites, or for forming cadre reserves. Despite this, the director decided in favor of a new internal reorganization."

With the gradual accumulation of mistakes and shortcomings in management work, the director's unfavorable character traits also became more obvious: he did not tolerate other opinions than his own, to say nothing of criticism; he was impulsive, irritable, not correct in his behavior; several people enjoyed a preferred position with him; but those who sometimes raised their voice in just cause were, on the other hand, in disfavor.

"The critical state lasted roughly 2 years, until it reached an intolerable limit." The director did not hand out clearly defined tasks and, when they remained unfulfilled, he reacted in a manner incompatible with socialist relations toward the subordinate. He began to lose authority, he lost discernment about how far he could go. The result was that, "in 1976, 29 percent of the employees resigned; 1 year later the figure was 32 percent," although the average figure for this kind of organization is approximately 3 percent.

Deplorably, the supervising body failed to draw correct conclusions from this in time. Neither did the CPCZ basic organization's committee show sufficient interest in all the adverse signs; it did not even inform the members' meeting. At the beginning the committee tried to call the director, a party member, to responsibility; he was invited several times to the committee's meeting, but did not come. "On the contrary, the director soon influenced particularly the chairman of the CPCZ all-factory committee, who uncritically alined himself with the director."

The director's irresponsible behavior continued, to the detriment of the plant; further employees left and their places in leading functions were filled by people without required qualifications. In 1976 the plant's investment plan was fulfilled roughly 81 percent, 1 year later 83 percent.

In April 1978 the CPCZ Control and Auditing Commission checked on the standards of party work in the plant. Its conclusions were confirmed by the Presidium of the Prague-5 district party committee, which affirmed the "necessity for changes in the CPCZ all-factory committee"; that was in July 1978. It seemed certain that the identical conclusions of the two bodies would lead to a radical solution; "the shortcomings in management were so obvious that there was no doubt as to the director's suspension. Last year the plant fulfilled the investment plan only 94 percent. More people were leaving, and the situation was becoming increasingly hopeless.

"Despite all this, the director was recalled only this year." The new management will now have to make a great effort to rectify what the slow deliberations of higher bodies have caused. "But the party organization and its committee, which now has a new composition, must learn from this for its future activities. It must fully implement the right of control over the economic management, it must see to adherence to the principles of cadre policy and, by developing initiative, criticism and selfcriticism, it must achieve a speedy rectification of the long-standing shortcomings."

SLOVAK DAILY URGES GREATER RECEPTIVENESS TO CRITICISM

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 17 Nov 79 p 1 AU

[Editorial: "A Bitter Medicine"; passages between slantlines are printed in wide-spaced type]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] Reactions to criticism differ and frequently they stand in direct contrast. It is natural that no person in charge is enthusiastic about it but the number of those who accept truth that is specific and uttered to one's face in a serious and matter-of-fact manner without being irritated is gratifying. [passage omitted]

Why has this manner of responding to criticism not become the /rule/ yet? Why is it rather the usual practice to seek ways and paths of escaping responsibility for shortcomings and, often, even to rudely attack the critic? How can one explain and justify the obvious attempt on the part of those criticized to obscure and take the edge off the specific aspects of their own conduct and, at the same time, to weaken in all possible ways and to cast doubt on the views and the position of the critic?

The author of an important critical analysis of management in our furniture industry, in which she--openly and without regard for the positions of the individual executives--pointed to several shortcomings of a subjective nature and to their protagonists, will always remember the statement of one of the executives: comrade, I thought that we were friends....

Well, what is this comrade's idea of "friendship," a word that must be, in this case, inserted in quotation marks signifying irony? Should it be the kind of friendship that can be heard from the pulpit, based on the principle to forgive all sins? Such an ethics is alien to communists, to all honest people.

We also have encountered counterfire from heavier calibers: that is the way in which they wrote in 1968....

What an attitude, reaching into the arsenals of demagogy! To draw a historical parallel between the press today and its activities more than 11 years ago requires, indeed, a great portion of demagogy. To make it clear,

let us recall the fundamental difference between criticism then and today: at that time one pursued, under the term "criticism," the destruction of the basic values and achievements of socialism. The frontal and sweeping criticism of everything was aimed against the communist party as the leading force of society. Today we use criticism to eliminate concrete shortcomings and mistakes that /weaken/ socialism and we conduct that struggle in the spirit of party policy, for the directives of the 15th CPCZ congress to be consistently implemented. [passage omitted]

What is the origin of the paltry saying "you may criticize, as long as I know about it," and of all the other reflex reactions to critical words, be it in the form of sticking an opprobrious label on the persistent faultfinder or in other forms of weeping or grinding of teeth? It is indisputable that this phenomenon also is a manifestation of the surviving unfortunate reminiscences and experiences of the past when the criticism of an executive used to be a prelude to recalling him from his post. From that period some sort of a strange "cult" of irreproachableness has survived to the present days, that is the notion that only a completely faultless and infallible person can hold an important office. Since people are people and not angels able to stay--at least formally--irreproachable, they strove to keep a distance between themselves and to avoid anything smacking of a critical view. We had thus found ourselves, in party organizations as well as in the sphere of economic management, surrounded with an atmosphere in which criticism was not the usual, habitual norm of overcoming shortcomings but something unusual that sounded--for those criticized--like an alarm, or even a tolling bell.

However, he who today--when the party is asserting /a critically demanding attitude/ in all sectors from the central committee down to party groups, ranging from the economy to culture--approaches criticism with such confused and deformed views has, to put it mildly, missed the times. Neither has he grasped the substantial changes that have taken place in the conditions of social development, which requires a style of work that respects the /fact/ of the deepened and expanded socialist democracy and the greater complexity and exactingness of tasks.

Above all, what do communists have to do to establish in each collective, organization and institution an atmosphere in which criticism is a method for discovering the truth and eliminating errors and the habitual norm for evaluating work performance? They must manifest more /patience/ in listening to the views of others; show more sincere /interest/ in public opinion; display more /trust/ in the honesty of the intentions of those who criticize; /evaluate/ themselves more strictly and admit that they, too, can be mistaken and act incorrectly; find in themselves the /moral strength/ to overcome paltry self-complacency and concern about their prestige and to accept the critical word with a clear mind, concentrated on its purpose and objective--on correction.

Criticism mostly has a bitter taste but that is only its side effect. It is a hundred times more important that it heals.

CPCZ DAILY SCORES TRENDS TO SHIFT RESPONSIBILITY TO OTHERS

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 17 Nov 79 p 1 AU

[Editorial: "Problems Should Be Solved Where Their Origins Lie"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] It is still early to try and evaluate this year's production, the beginning of which was marked by unexpected difficulties in the fuel-power base, difficulties which were reflected in our entire national economy in the course of only a few days. But even now it is possible to say that in the fourth year of the Sixth 5-Year Plan a significant shift has taken place in the working people's minds, a strengthening of their sense of responsibility for the work they deliver, an endeavor to enhance its quality and effectiveness. [passage omitted]

The saying that we have no use for some to pull and for others to ride has greater validity in the face of significant problems in the first months of this year; and it has evoked a more urgent need that each of our citizens should truly utilize, for our common benefit, all his energy, knowledge and ability in the process of creating new resources. Every coin has two sides to it; and the same applies to the sphere of economic and social policy, where one can make decisions about distribution only with regard to what has been actually created. [passage omitted]

From a long-term view one can responsibly say that the defined plans are, on the whole, being successfully materialized. The way of life and the living standards correspond to the greatness of materialized plans and to the effectiveness of work. [passage omitted]

However, one must not close one's eyes to the fact that the inordinate number of tasks and problems connected with the materialization of these tasks sometimes tempts people to attempt to make things easier by shifting certain worries to some other person's shoulders. This is wrong, since this does not help progress, but slows down development. [passage omitted]

Indifference, indolence, seclusion and marking time until somebody else starts solving the problem--all this is harmful. On the other hand, an

enterprising approach to the fulfillment of one's duties--and sometimes even to those which are not included in the appropriate description of work--this is the only correct method for squaring oneself with one's own conscience.

Therefore it is supremely necessary to push through, into the widest possible practice, the method of solving problems primarily in places where they emerge. There the overwhelming majority of problems can be solved quickest and easiest. The opposite of such enterprising work is the endeavor of certain workers to shift even those problems that can be solved on the spot preferably to other places; the endeavor to get rid of one's own worry at the expense of somebody else, to appeal for help to a higher management level and to create an alibi shield so as to cover up one's own indolence. Such practices regularly lead to solutions that are more costly and far slower than if one had honestly striven to find a solution on the spot. However, to wait for things with arms folded has become a deeply-rooted habit of certain workers. [passage omitted]

The obstacles which emerged this year on our road were, and are, many. It is imperative to solve many large and complicated problems. But a more detailed study always reveals that even the greatest problem is an accumulation of small problems, which can be solved easiest in the place where they emerge. [passage omitted]

And the sense of responsibility of each and every working person is the crux of the matter not only now, when the year is drawing to its end and when the working people are striving to fulfill their duties as best they can, but also throughout the process of implementing the program of the 15th CPCZ Congress.

CSO: 2400

CSSR: AMERICAN FILMS PREFERRED OVER LOCAL FILMS

Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 16 Nov 79 p 4 AU

[Article by Zdenek Zaoral: "Pondering the Number of People in Our Movie Theaters: What Interests the Audience?"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] In recent years, the number of people that go to see films produced in Czechoslovakia has declined to such an extent that we must begin to seriously devote ourselves to this problem. The opinion of the managers of movie theaters is that the failure of domestically-produced drama films must be primarily attributed to the greyness of themes, inadequate professional standards and, sometimes, even to untruthful portraying of our reality. [passage omitted]

The audience selects the films it wants to see according to their genre. If we compare the attendance at American films in our movie theaters with the attendance at domestically-produced films, we will come to the conclusion that such a comparison is not only possible, but it even will show that American comedies and top artistic productions have, on the average, the same attendance as our comedies and films with revolutionary and philosophical themes, while American social and psychological films are as little popular as Czech films having social and psychological "run-of-the-mill" themes.

However, there is a difference in the number of people going to see American and domestically-produced films when it comes to adventure films and films about crime. The mythos about American films' attractiveness in our movie theaters arises from the fact that fully one-third of the imports are adventure films, of which we produce only a few, and, moreover, let us admit it, that we cannot make them. The majority of the contemporary Czech films about crime--whose ever diminishing attendance should be a warning signal--are failures. When we take into consideration the rest of the American films, apart from the adventure films, we see that their attendance corresponds roughly to the attendance of the better part of our production (let us not forget that we import only better films!). [passage omitted]

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### BRIEFS

INDRA MEETS SRI LANKA ENVOY--Prague--Czechoslovak Federal Assembly Chairman Alois Indra received here on Thursday new ambassador of Sri Lanka to Czechoslovakia Rajakon Christopher Algernon Johnpull. Alois Indra received also new Zambian ambassador to Czechoslovakia Siyantu Xavier Quisksett Shimbale. [Text] [LD020320 Prague CTK in English 1543 GMT 1 Nov 79 LD]

NATIONAL FRONT GROUP IN SFRY--Belgrade--A delegation of the Czechoslovak National Front, headed by its Deputy Chairman Tomas Travnicek, Thursday visited the town of Novi Sad, northwest of here, and conferred with regional and local representatives of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People. They exchanged information on the activities and topical tasks of their organizations. In Belgrade, the delegation were guests of the Press and Publishing Enterprise BORBA. Its director Ivan Lovric briefed the guests on the work of the enterprise and the position of BORBA, the newspaper of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People, in the system of the Yugoslav daily press. Tomorrow the Czechoslovak delegation will continue talks with representatives of the Yugoslav partner organization. [Text] [Prague CTK in English 2003 GMT 1 Nov 79 LD]

INDRA, MEXICAN ENVOY MEET--Alois Indra, chairman of the Federal Assembly, received the ambassador of the United States of Mexico in Czechoslovakia, Roberto Casallas Leal, in Prague today prior to the inauguration of his tour of duty. [Text] [LD310620 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1300 GMT 30 Oct 79 LD]

NEW DUTCH ENVOY--Frits Gerritregtdoorzee-Greup, the new ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Kingdom of Netherlands to the CSSR, arrived in Prague on 29 October. He was welcomed by J. Tucek, head of the diplomatic protocol at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 31 Oct 79 p 2 AU]

BRATISLAVA CLERGY MEET MAYOR--On 7 November Bratislava Mayor L. Martinak received representatives of the Association of the Catholic Clergy of the Slovak capital led by Dr Krajci, the association's chairman. Canon G. Navratil, chairman of the Slovak Committee of the Association of Catholic Clergy, was also present. The mayor expressed appreciation of the Catholic

clergy's share in the creation of good relations between the state and the Roman Catholic church. The clergy representatives assured the city representatives that they will continue supporting our society's building efforts. They stressed that they endorse the noble goals of peaceful coexistence and expressed full support for the latest peace proposals of the USSR.  
[Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 8 Nov 79 p 2 AU]

CPCZ'S BENO IN TATRA PLANT--Smichov--Mikulas Beno, CPCZ Central Committee secretary, yesterday [15 November] visited Prague's Fifth District. After talking to the leading figures in the district he visited the CKD TATRA plant, where he was informed about the course of the membership card exchange, the enrollment of candidate members and other matters of intra-party life. [Text] [Prague VECERNI PRAHA in Czech 16 Nov 79 p 1 AU]

WORK DISCIPLINE DISCUSSED--Representatives of the Office of the Prosecutor General of the Slovak Socialist Republic yesterday informed Bratislava journalists about the enforcement of measures aimed at strengthening work discipline. The prosecutor's findings reveal that some leading workers continue tolerating the infringement of work discipline, substantiating it with manpower shortage which makes strict enforcement of disciplinary sanctions impossible. Inadequate enforcement of disciplinary measures also endures in the spheres of work safety and of health protection at work. [Text] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 16 Nov 79 p 2 AU]

CSO: 2400

CHRISTIAN PEACE CONFERENCE BACKS BREZHNEV'S PROPOSALS

East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 17 Nov 79 p 5 AU

[Statement of the regional conference of the Christian peace conference in the GDR on Leonid Brezhnev's peace initiative]

[Text] Together with other peace forces, we have for years pointed out the threatening consequences of the arms race and have demanded that this vicious circle be broken. In our opinion the Soviet Union's initiative to unilaterally withdraw troops and tanks from the GDR offers a chance for this purpose that must not be missed.

This is why we welcome the declaration of intent of the GDR and appeal to all Christians in the GDR to make it their own and to sign it.

We oppose the NATO plans for the deployment of new weapons of mass destruction in Western Europe and demand instead that the Soviet offer for negotiations be taken into consideration. We need a number of confidence-building measures and want to contribute to these. Representative of all such measures, are the actions of the Interchurch Peace Council in the Netherlands and of the "Christians for Disarmament" movement in the FRG.

We are thinking of the peace forces in Western Europe which are advocating under difficult conditions that no new arms race should take place. We call on all church congregations in the GDR to join them in solidarity in this plea. By taking our place in the peace movement, we are helping them. We are taking up Martin Niemöller's call to commitment: "Wherever the life of millions is at stake, millions also must be mobilized."

CSO: 2300

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

BRIEFS

SOLIDARITY SHIPMENT TO YEMEN--On the eve of the official friendship visit in the PDRY [People's Democratic Republic of Yemen] by Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee secretary and GDR State Council chairman, a solidarity shipment, valued at M2.7 million, was handed over to the Council for Peace and Solidarity in Aden. [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15 Nov 79 p 1 AU]

AGREEMENT WITH IRAQI JOURNALISTS--A working agreement on the development and deepening of cooperation between the GDR Association of Journalists (VDJ) and the Iraq Association of Journalists for the period 1980-1985 was concluded on 19 November 1979 in Baghdad. The treaty provides, among other things, for the regular exchange of study delegations and VDJ support in the training of Iraqi journalists. [Text] [AU711450 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20 Nov 79 p 2 AU]

VISIT OF U.S. CHURCH REPRESENTATIVE--Klaus Gysi, state secretary for church affairs, on 19 November 1979 received Dr Avery Post, president of the U.S. United Church of Christ, for a talk about the churches' responsibility in securing world peace. The talk was held in a frank atmosphere and was also attended by Dr Joachim Rogge, president of the chancery of the Evangelical Church of the Union in the GDR. [AU211450 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20 Nov 79 p 2 AU]

FDJ ON NATIONAL DEFENSE--Topical questions on the securing of peace and the demands placed on the GDR's national defense were the focal point of a military-political meeting on 19 November 1979 in the FDJ Central Council in Berlin. Egon Krenz, SED Central Committee Politburo candidate member and first secretary of the FDJ Central Council, emphasized the co-responsibility of the youth organization in protecting socialism. It is for this reason that military-political and military knowledge and experience are an unrenounceable part of the equipment of every FDJ functionary. In a speech, Colonel General Heinz Kessler, deputy minister for national defense and chief of the NVA main political administration, praised the work of the GDR youth in reliably protecting the achievements of the socialist revolution and in strengthening national defense in accordance with the decisions of the Ninth SED Congress. Pointing to the Berlin peace initiative of the USSR, he said that it is important in the FDJ's work, and especially in military instruction, to explain these proposals to the young generation. [Text] [AU211242 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20 Nov 79 p 1 AU]

OFFICIAL REEMPHASIZES MISSION OF TRADE UNIONS

[Editorial Report] The educational work of trade unions in the shop is the subject of a speech delivered by Gyula Virizlay, SZOT [National Council of Trade Unions] secretary in charge of agitation and propaganda, at the 21 Sept 79 accounting meeting of SZOT. The speech has been published in the SZOT periodical MUNKA, No 11 1979, pp 1 - 5 and makes the following major points:

"The trade unions must now concentrate on the following three areas in their educational work at shop level, namely aiding production, promoting more effective assertion of plant and shop democracy and improving the activity of shop stewards." Virizlay defines the role of the trade unions in the following terms:..."The activity of the trade unions will appeal to the workers to the extent that the latter see that it is motivated by struggle for realization of socialist principles...The trade unions are responsible for understanding the reasoning behind the measures intended to strengthen the domestic economy and making them clear to the workers and for using all the unions' power in support of their implementation. At the same time," he continues, "we must oppose bureaucratic and narrow-minded measures enacted in the name of allegedly 'higher interests' which have been made into fetishes. 'We must fight for appreciation of work well done and for establishment of an atmosphere which leads to recognition and emulation of such work. We must consistently stand up for better work organization, because firmer work discipline depends on this. We must oppose the possibility of income incommensurate with work performance.

"Although we need protect no one without proper cause or merit, nevertheless, in the interest of society, we must be ready to take part in open conflict in defense of the interest of the individual, adherence to law, proper material incentives, establishment of suitable work conditions and recognition of work well done...

"Numerous cases--such as the recent price increases--prove what the trade union activists and the apparatus can achieve. We must maintain our sense of responsibility and continue our efforts at the present time."

ROMANIAN HUNGARIAN EDITOR DISCUSSES POLITICS, MINORITY ROLE

Budapest UJ TUKOR in Hungarian No 45, 11 Nov 79 p 23

[Interview with Prof Erno Gall, editor in chief of Kolozsvar KORUNK]

[Text] Instead of elaborate introductions, let us get to the heart of the matter. After all, the work of this university professor [Erno Gall] who is editor in chief of KORUNK, published in Kolozsvar, forms part of modern self-awareness, our orientation among our neighbors, as do all valuable works of Hungarian culture achieved beyond our borders. These prevailing themes dominate even the titles of his books, his studies. We published a hefty volume of his recently: nationality & self-awareness, characteristic uniqueness & coexistence, intellectualism and morals. Or is this merely an accidental inventory?

[Answer] This inventory, far from being accidental, encompasses the sphere of my scientific-public work. The concepts and phenomena which appear in question express my being. I struggle with them continually in order to understand them and, through understanding them, to do something improving or mending. These topics concern me directly and professionally, because, after all, I work in the area of nationality culture: I write, edit and teach as a Romanian-Hungarian intellectual.

Biographically, my thoughts were and are tailored by the pre-1940 antifascist popular front phase of KORUNK. The chief effort of my latest ethical endeavor--in a self-critical vein--is to analyze and thereby transcend traces of former sectarian insularity and its after-effects in myself and others which are incompatible in principle with the aforementioned popular front. There are, of course, positive aspects to this review of the past.

The era of "bright winds" released much creative energy and initiative (as well as illusions and errors) in the life of my generation here, too, and there is no reason for me to deny these.

[Question] Are these the writings of Erno Gall in the fifties?

[Answer] This is not the first time that I confess to what I still accept and what I can no longer agree with in the pieces I wrote in the fifties and even the early sixties. I am far from indulging in masochism, but I consider this analytical self-criticism of the past indispensable from the viewpoint of my continuing work and development. I could even say that I and, I believe, my generation are compelled to make this effort by the demands of a sort of spiritual-moral hygiene. Stalinism, as it manifested itself historically at that time, belongs to the past; however, coping with the dilemmas and problems produced by it, which we inherited, is far from having lost its timeliness. The autobiographies which are published so frequently here now can contribute many important details and report experiences which reveal problems from the recent past which carry over to the present. Unfortunately, the authors who have the moral strength and courage to face themselves and confront the unfounded hopes and distortions of the era are rare. Our recent memoir writing has not yet freed itself of self-idealization and apologetics. It is not enough to stress the obligation to remember. To fight against individual and communal amnesia will not suffice. Responsibility cannot be separated from remembrance which, among other things, leads to complete candor and the inexorable confrontation with old and new illusions. This responsibility also warns us not to tolerate fanaticism, exclusivity and the intolerance which insists on single correct solutions.

The question which torments me personally as to how such a mass suspension of sane judgment, the spirit of criticism and human dignity became possible remains to be answered. I believe that psychiatrists and social scientists as well as historians, sociologists and political scientists must take part in formulating an answer.

It would be worth devoting some time to the Manichean aspects of the Stalinist phenomenon. I refer to the strictly black or white viewpoint which evinces virtually official resistance both in regard to reality and to any other conception. In this type of absolutist thinking, only heaven or hell exist. And, in its impatience and intolerance, it sees the devil in everyone who holds a different belief. Those who become enslaved to this manner of thought are monopolistic in make-up; they neither can nor wish to burst their bonds of prejudice. It is worth brooding about that this type of mentality--somewhat akin to insanity--held sway over so many outstanding intellectuals of humanist training for so long a time. The explanation can possibly be found in a certain "intellectual sense of guilt." This "sense of guilt" gained ground during the period of sectarianism and sprung from having a petit bourgeois origin. It sought and found compensation in the case of many writers in views and judgments of the most intolerant, extreme, populace-alienating, and unrealistic kind.

[Question] What bases of any sort can the Romanian Hungarian writer find today?

[Answer] At the time of the reappraisal of values--the period of crises in many respects--the nurturing of enduring values of Romanian Hungarian culture, representation of the "ethos of coexistence" become a veritable Archimedian point. This linkage offers the awareness, the feeling of belonging somewhere, the sense that we are doing something which is useful and gives meaning to our lives. By proclaiming the "dignity of characteristic uniqueness" or by stressing the values and original identicalness of a culture we express our self-awareness to ourselves, that behavior which Andros Suto so aptly called "holding the head high."

Naturally I am aware of the dangers inherent in complacency, nationality encapsulation, provincialism. That's why I consider complete candor toward the world plus many channels of communication inseparable from the dignity of characteristic uniqueness. Nothing is more important from the viewpoint nationality culture than a multiplicity of voices which--in the name of exacting tolerance--leaves room for differing ideas and creates the creative atmosphere needed for the unfolding of talents. Without such candor and the pluralism manifest in the unity of diversity, a culture obliged to cope with various drawbacks would probably wither.

This is where the problem of generations which is again at issue here comes in. What degree of responsibility do the preceding generations bear? What characterizes or what should characterize the relations between generations? Passing on the torch, conflict or cooperation? Years ago I hailed the establishment of a young writers' club having a different orientation; in addition to making a few critical comments, I stood up for cooperation. Apparently through my error, my intention was misunderstood: interpreted as a call for some kind of integration, it was rejected. In my opinion it is the right and duty of each new generation to question many things from A-Z, the kind of commitment of their predecessors, their scale of values, their performance. At the same time, the older generation, whether they like it or not, must support the innovative radical initiatives of the young with self-critically motivated analyses. However, I consider dialog between the generations essential; this must not be broken off in the midst of debate or conflict. Without dialog a nationality culture becomes unviable. Practicing a policy of "clean sweep" would be a self-destructive luxury.

[Question] In the sociological works of Erno Gall who keeps up with the modern social sciences of the world, there is frequent mention of the fringe character or group. Why has this concept been stressed to such a degree?

[Answer] In an analysis of modern (nationality) commitments, the so-called fringe personality is bound to come to the fore, because he lives on the boundary of cultures which touch one another, and one could even say that he combines them in his person. The fringe individual (and I

count myself as one) belongs existentially and formally among the "bridge builders," those who consider it their duty, their calling, to bring about rapprochement between peoples, and they wish to achieve this through promoting reciprocal recognition, transmitting productive interaction.

Today the role of bridge building is more timely than ever in the fundamental functions which determine the conditions of existence of Romanian-Hungarian culture. There is no alternative to coexistence. However, those who coexist must be thoroughly familiar with one another. Admission to the magic circle can be achieved only through joint effort: the bridge must be built from both sides. Nothing gives me greater personal pleasure and satisfaction than meeting and working with partners from another culture who know what is involved and who approach us with understanding.

[Question] When it is difficult, so very difficult that it seems--in the words written by Sandor Makai in a different historical period--downright impossible, the ultimate question would burst forth from us: we find the answer in the earlier writings of Erno Gall, because he argued with Makai's viewpoint more than once although understanding and respecting Makai: "Life has shown that there is dignity in his attitude of 'as far as possible' provided that it does not justify giving up or unprincipled compromise but stands for defense of rights and creation of new values!

"Human dignity is guaranteed by the nations which make up mankind and the dignity of nationalities."

CSO: 2500

## HUNGARY

### BRIEFS

QUESTIONS FOR TV INTERVIEW--During the week before Christmas Hungarian TV will continue its series "We Asked the Minister." This time the camera crews will visit the office of Pal Romany, minister of agriculture and food. The goal of the program is to provide TV viewers with answers to the greatest possible number of questions of public interest. To achieve this, they request the aid of our readers. They ask that letters containing questions be submitted by agricultural producer cooperatives, state farms, state forestries, food industry enterprises, commercial organs involved in bulk purchasing and by the consumers themselves. Letters should be addressed to: Magyar Televizio, Mezogazdasagi Szerkesztoseg [Hungarian Television, Agricultural Editors]. [Text] [Budapest MAGYAR MEZOGAZDASAG in Hungarian No 47, 1979 p 2]

CSO: 2500

## NEED FOR CONTINUOUS STUDY OF 'SOCIAL MINIMUM' ISSUE

Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish No 7, Jul 79 pp 113-117

[Article by Andrzej Tymowski]

[Text] The importance of the problem of the social minimum has been emphasized repeatedly in recent years by the leadership of the Party and the government, as well as by the press and scholarly publications. Nevertheless, it is not easy to emphasize new and important problems in this area, because social policy usually deals with problems whose solution must be approached dynamically both from the standpoint of research methodology, as well as from the standpoint of the practical application of the results.

Solutions are dependent upon the economic and social situation of the country. If we do not keep up with changes we will preach yesterday's truth, when it is in the very area of social policies--and indeed the problem of the social minimum is one of the central questions of this policy area--that we should be focusing on today and tomorrow. Thus, the observations below.

A working definition of the social minimum might be: the amount of financial means needed to satisfy the necessities of a given type of family and household on a social level recognized as essential at a given level in a country's development. A more detailed commentary on this definition, however, seems to be called for.

This definition stresses that the size of the social minimum is measured in monetary value. One must also be aware, however, that although the satisfying of necessities is carried out by means of money--with the exception of possible free benefits distributed in the framework of what is called social consumption--and is expressed in terms of money, it nonetheless is concerned with goods and services. Thus it is not enough to assure the people or families concerned an adequate level of monetary income; one must also assure them an adequate supply, at prices anticipated at the time the social minimum is calculated, of those goods and services which are considered socially essential. As long as there is an imbalance between the buying power which is at the people's disposal and the supply of various goods and services, the monetary level of income may seemingly guarantee the social minimum, but in fact

it may not be assured, considering the inaccessibility of goods corresponding by their volume and standard to the volumes defined in "the basket."

One must be aware, therefore, that the incomes of persons who remain at the social minimum level--and thus of social groups which for the most part cannot postpone their demands--must correspond to the prices of goods and services.

The problem of budgeting time in the households of those living on a minimum social level is connected with this question as well. The so-called "basket" mentioned above is based on the assumption of the easy acquisition of the commodities and services there is an absence of market balance. One should not overlook the influence exerted by this lack--even though this is a matter of only a number of staple commodities--on the budgeting of time of the worst-off families. This burden on their budgeting of time worsens their living conditions, although perhaps it does not find expression in the monetary budget of the given household.

This is not a socially justified condition and is not consistent with political assumptions which aim toward the equalization of unjustified differences in the living conditions of individual groups of people. The necessity for the material diminution of burdens to which households situated near the social minimum line are subject requires no justification. Thus, solutions must be sought which, in a period of disturbed market balance, allow neither the economic situation of the poor to worsen nor the demands on their time to increase.

The social minimum is a dynamic, changing category. It undergoes continuous evolution in pace with the socio-economic development of the country and the increase in the standard of living. This, however, determines that in time, after the elimination of poverty pockets below the previous social minimum, the level of the social minimum will rise and will correspond to the general improvement in living conditions. Indeed, those concerned will live on a higher level than those who formerly belonged to that group; nevertheless, in the system of new structures of division of consumption funds, they will continue to require the state's special concern.

While defining the social minimum level it is important to remember that it usually falls decidedly below the average income level. The problem periodically touches a large number of households which are classed in several social groups, especially families with many children or households of the retired and elderly. Generally one strives for a social minimum level which is at least one half of the average income level. The First Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee used this expression when he stated that the goal was that the minimum pay would hover around half the amount of the average wage. From both the point of view of the policy of the division of consumption funds, as well as defining the amount of the social minimum level, a proper establishing of principles and of proportions in this regard is an extremely important matter in the socialist state. The problem of persons living on the social minimum level must always be of priority in social policy, as well as in the general policy of the division of consumption funds.

In evaluating the social minimum, there arises the concept of "indispensability", this is an attempt to fix this minimum at a level which will allow for the satisfaction of socially justified and generally accepted needs. This "indispensability" is open to discussion already from the start. In spite of the application of scientific criteria in determining the various needs which must be met in the households concerned, there is always the threat of subjective pressure. Also, the determining of the quantity of the social minimum, in respect to both the total amount and the individual components comprising it, must be based on investigations of reality and on facts, and not on imaginings. There is no need, for example, to introduce to the minimum "basket" socially desirable expenditures for cultural life, since in fact such expenditures are minimal in many domestic budgets. Such transformations of the make-up on the "basket" must be preceded by a definite change in general needs.

Thus how can we define the minimum social level and, in particular, the quantitative and generic scope of goods and services considered indispensable? The method for determining the social minimum amount used until now by employees of the Main Statistical Office and the Institute of Labor and Social Affairs does not assure a decided priority of social aspects and criteria. It is apparently necessary that such research be conducted under the sponsorship of the Central Council of Trade Unions [CRZZ] and of the currently active Council for Family Affairs. This would broaden consideration of social criteria and views while determining the size of the social minimum. Such work should be done in public, not on camera and this would facilitate the inclusion of the community and the mobilization of further reserves. The data concerning the social minimum should be open and made available to the public.

The method of calculating the size of the social minimum for the peasant population presents a special problem. Each time the social minimum is specified for rural areas, somewhat different research methods are applied than for the urban population. It is necessary to develop different rules for determining the real and the monetary significance of goods and services which make up the "basket." It is even harder to determine the actual cost level. One must consider the existence of natural consumption as well as the extremely complicated problem, common for country people, of the size and standard of the dwelling unit. There is also the essential problem of the difference in rural socio-economic conditions in various sections of the country. This difference is far greater for the rural population than it is for those who live in various urban areas of the country. All of these problems must be addressed and resolved.

The above remarks have tried to explain the social minimum and certain questions connected with designating its magnitude. We must remember, however, that determining the social minimum is only a means. The goal is to determine who lives on the social minimum level and even lower, and why, in order to take steps to improve the situation. That superficial and easy optimism which we often meet in this area is of no help here.

As groups of people whose living conditions are difficult because of reasons that have nothing to do with them, one can cite people who have a chronic physical or psychological illness or people with reduced physical efficiency because of a congenital or acquired disabling condition. Sometimes the physical condition of family members, extraordinary family burdens, the situation of orphans, mothers with children who have been abandoned by their husbands, and so forth, can have their effect. The existence of such groups is in no way dependent upon the social structure. They can be found in every social community. They can be helped, and this help can be increased, by a proper policy for dividing the consumption fund, but their situation will always be difficult because of reasons which are not their fault.

Another group also living in difficult material conditions is part--and I emphasize this limitation--part of the social margin. It is difficult to determine the scope of this group. It contains chronically parasitic elements, alcoholics, some criminal elements, persons with a chronic aversion toward money-earning work, and persons who are leading an "unsettled" life (for instance, those who are burdened with high alimony payments to the family they have deserted.)

Not all persons belonging to the group described above are necessarily in a difficult material situation. Some of them may have a decent income, whether legal or semi-legal, and yet because of their vices, such as alcoholism, may manage their money badly. In many cases those people are supported by their families, often at a higher level than the minimum.

What percent of people in fact do not have enough income to enable them to live at the social minimum level, and what percent have the income but, because of their consumption patterns, fritter it away in socially detrimental ways and, in spite of adequate income, live in fact in destitution? All of these questions must be answered. It is not easy; it demands penetrating research and examination of all aspects of the problem. Even more difficult to determine is what can be done to change the status quo, for it is not only the question of assuring an adequate income to certain persons or households. It is more often a matter of encouraging them to work or to such steps, one must be completely familiar with the phenomenon and with its gradations. Remedies are, after all, very difficult and very costly.

The reasons for poverty enumerated up until this point have their root in the household itself. There are other reasons, however, which may be independent of the household and which are connected with the principles underlying the distribution of consumption funds. In general they are connected with demographic changes in households. In spite of decisions made in recent years, benefits to families are not large in our country. This has a bearing on more productive families and on families with greater numbers of children to maintain. Part of these families are subject to impoverishment and this has taken its toll on the younger generation, on the state of its health, and on its psychological development.

Only in recent years has there begun a more pronounced rise in the level of retirement payments. We have also begun to broaden the pension system in rural areas. We mention these things because experience has taught us that gaps and delays in consumption funds and distribution policies can cause the creation of certain social groups living at a level lower than that recognized as the social minimum. It is thus necessary to keep a close check on the situation and to implement proposals which ensure a quick response to any dangers which may arise.

The importance of the problems discussed above cannot be exaggerated. The examination of who lives in difficult material circumstances and why is one of the basic problems which confront both scholars and the social policy of our country. What is at stake is the basic principles and goals of socialism. Since we still have to deal with the phenomenon of groups living on the boundary of the social minimum, we must dedicate more effort to the analysis of the problem. What is surprising is that, although we dispose of huge financial resources for social research, we treat the problem of poverty as marginal. Do we underestimate its significance? Is it considered too touchy a subject? We must repeat once more: there are no facts which are too touchy. What is very harmful, on the other hand, is failure to perceive these facts or to pay attention to them; this must result in negative social consequences.

This is why the demand for the intensification of research into the whole series of problems about the social minimum seems justified and urgent.

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CSO: 2600

## JOURNAL CALLS FOR STRENGTHENING CENTRAL PLANNING ORGANS

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 45, Nov 79 p 7

[Article by Alojzy Melich: "Creative Imagination"]

[Text] The economy represents a system of communicating vessels, and an exclusive influence, even the most rational one, on a single sector most often produces negative effects on many other sectors. When not all the links in the economy are visible, fragmentary and unidirectional streamlining can bring more disadvantages than benefits. We have had convincing proof of this fact many times already.

I believe that the greatest failing of the Polish economy is precisely its weak capacity for comprehensive, long-range thinking. I know that this is a difficult issue: our economy is already so developed, and the mechanism for its actions is so complicated, that it is unimaginable for one mind to be able to grasp all the cause and effect links at one time. But we already have a relatively well-developed electronic machinery base which it would be necessary to use to grasp the ratios between economic phenomena, to balance possibilities with needs, or to harmonize mutual courses of particular production processes and of circulation.

Moreover, the control of the economy continues to be of a short-term nature, remaining under the overpowering influence of the pressure of the moment and the need to overcome current difficulties and tensions. By this, I do not mean to say that it is not necessary today, but I do maintain that these issues obscure as it were more important, strategic issues which require reflection, careful deliberation, and often long-term investigations and study, for which there is no time, however. I say sincerely that central control also is now well-synchronized, for to a large extent it is split among many central institutions. Finances are concentrated in the department of finances, matters of pricing in the State Pricing Commission, wage issues again in a separate department, and plan preparation in the Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers.

The central planner thus is not at all so powerful as many people think. For example, he is not even able to effectively counter pressures exerted by many departments and centers in investment matters, thereby permitting

investments to be undertaken although there had been no possibility of doing so or although the investments had not been prepared adequately.

Therefore, I would like to draw quite an essential, although perhaps controversial, conclusion--one which will startle many people--about the need to strengthen central planning organs. For without a strong central center, endowed with authority and planning strategic directions of development of the Polish economy, we will always be in for surprises. Those people are wrong who promulgate the view that when the central planner is relatively weak, then there should be an expansion of the authority of rank and file management links which, they say, will be better able to solve difficult problems. Again, this does not mean that I do not perceive the role and the significance of rank and file management links, but their area of activity and competence is a different--and moreover greatly underutilized--one, different than that of the central center which plans, or controls, the economy.

The point is that, being an advocate of a central center decisively and consistently controlling the economy, at the same time I do not believe that this in itself would do much without the simultaneous implementation of far-reaching changes in the work methods of the so-called executive or rank and file links. Moreover, the crux of the matter does not lie only in reorganizing decision centers anew (although perhaps that too will be necessary). I have the feeling that we have too much faith in the beneficial power of organizational or personnel changes. These will not solve or change anything when we will not introduce systematic changes and will not change our work method and the premises of our thinking. Certainly neither of these things is easy or simple, and they require much more time, for people must learn to apply new methods and to overcome old habits; thus, these things cannot be carried out from day to day.

I maintain that the work methods both of the central links, of direct units of production management, and of enterprises and establishments are outdated. They have become inadequate for the already relatively high level of development of the Polish economy, and even for the attained level of competence of Polish society. Many elements of the very system of management and functioning of our economy simply no longer correspond to the stage of the developed socialist society which Poland has entered.

From the course of the reasoning presented thus far, one could conclude that I consider changes in methods of activity to be the most essential and fundamental changes and, as an expression of this view, that the system of management and functioning should be improved. Again, however, I must express important reservations. For again, one cannot believe that everything will improve immediately as soon as we elaborate and implement a new system. The problem of surmounting difficulties and tensions also cannot wait until a system of this kind is elaborated and "reached" in practice.

As a realist, I am aware that precisely during periods of economic tensions and difficulties there are no conditions for achieving basic changes in the economy's system of functioning, if only because changes can further intensify the difficulties. For that reason, my postulate has to adopt more of a minimalistic character: It is necessary to remove from the system of functioning at least those obstacles which hinder Poland's further development and impede rational management. This postulate refers moreover both to the central centers controlling the economy and to all management links.

The basic task of the central planner is primarily to put the structural disproportions of the economy in order. This requires knowledge of the scale on which they occur and the kind of orienting of the investment process that would permit elimination of "bottlenecks" as quickly as possible. This is an issue which determines the fuller utilization of already formed production strengths.

Synchronizing the directions of Poland's development on a macroeconomic scale, establishing a strategic production program which takes into consideration the requirements for effective international exchange and correct adjustment of production to the structure of Poland's needs (in global dimensions)--these are the central planning center's most urgent tasks. Moreover, the introduction of evaluation standards for the work of enterprises, standards which would take socioeconomic aspects of management into account to a much greater extent than they have done to date, is becoming a burning issue. Production itself or the dynamics of production is not a sufficient criterion for evaluating the work of an enterprise; therefore, new elements, including that of quality coupled with the cost of production, have to be introduced into the evaluation system. For we are not free to again allow price reductions to be made absolute without attributing them to the desirable high level of quality of products and services.

I am aware of the operational difficulties of accounting for costs under conditions of Poland's so significantly warped price structure. After all, this deficiency constitutes the basic cause of the failures of many Large Economic Organization [WOG] organizations. Since I do not believe that the price structure will improve within a short time, it would be advisable to implement a normative, and even calculational, cost accounting, after first establishing the principles for maintaining it uniformly. In effect, it would be possible to acquire a relatively good, certainly imperfect, instrument for selecting and making decisions based on an analysis of the profitability of solutions. The lack of this type of instrument means that we are not aware of what is profitable or unprofitable, as the case may be, and to what extent.

I do not believe, however, that improving the central control of the economy is by itself sufficient, but it should create conditions for the efficient management of all the links. With changed criteria for the

evaluation of enterprises, and with the realization of their powers (for they are fairly considerable, albeit formal ones, not being utilized fully), it would be possible to obtain significant improvement of the functioning of all economic units and, in effect, also the improvement of production indicators, which would have to have a favorable effect on the economic situation.

Each partial streamlining move should represent a brick in the formation of a cohesiveness and united plan for the development of Poland's economy. This plan cannot be an unchanging one, however, and thus it must be made more specific and must undergo changes with the passage of time and with the transformation into a specific plan.

The plan I am speaking of should be an integral one, but it should be implemented in phases, always being controlled and corrected. Everything should first be worked out and prepared mentally, and then the operation will be easier and simpler.

Immediate moves are sometimes indispensable and necessary, but they cannot become the rule. It is a question of foreseeing, as much as possible, with the power of the imagination all the effects of each important decision in order to insure as high a degree of infallibility and efficiency as possible. We need this creative imagination the most, and we need it on a par with the capacity to think in terms of the whole economy as well as to take social interests into account and to renounce all forms of particularism.

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CSO: 2600

## 'SECRET ANALYSES' CITED IN ARTICLE ON CARIBBEAN AFFAIRS

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 29 Nov 79 p 4

[Article by H. K.]

[Excerpt] The new alignment of forces in the area of the Caribbean seriously disturbs not only businessmen, but also political circles in Washington. The development of the political situation in the states and mini-states of the Greater and Lesser Antilles is watched attentively there. Reports from the Caribbean are diligently analyzed in Washington's secret government offices. Many politicians in the United States are convinced that a "second front" aimed against North American domination is opening up in the "American sphere of influence" closest to the United States: in the Caribbean. They point out that a chain of islands whose inhabitants speak English, but which seeks to gain not only formal, but also real, independence, stretches from Jamaica to Trinidad. Unfavorable (from Washington's point of view) sociopolitical changes have already taken place in Grenada, Saint Lucia and Dominica. The governments of these countries have made a joint declaration in which they came out in support of an independent and nonaligned foreign policy. Such a policy can only be anti-American, at least in the understanding of Washington politicians.

According to secret analyses, Grenada, Saint Lucia and Dominica might in the future be followed by other Caribbean mini-states, such as Saint Vincent, Antigua, and Saint Kitts and Nevis-Anguilla. From this point of view, among others, Puerto Rico has become especially valuable for the United States; Puerto Rico is a so-called free state associated with the United States, but in fact constitutes a possession of the latter. Currently 13 percent of the island is taken up by American air, naval and army bases. Aircraft with strategic missions, for example, are stationed at Ramey Airfield. The expansion of bases continues, and recently massive maneuvers by the American army took place here.

Washington's activities are intended to maintain influence in the Caribbean, and this is to make it easier to save valuable U.S. positions in Latin America.

FOREIGN DELEGATIONS PRESENT MESSAGES TO RCP CONGRESS

AU201350 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 20 Nov 79 pp 2, 10

["The Delegations Which Delivered Messages to the Congress"]

[Text] The delegation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union headed by Arvid Yanovich Pelshe, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the CPSU, chairman of the party Control Committee of the CC of the CPSU;

The delegation of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Ulanhu, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Chinese Communist Party, vice-chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China;

The delegation of the Communist Party of Spain headed by Santiago Carrillo, secretary-general of the Communist Party of Spain;

The delegation of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, led by Dusan Dragosavac, secretary of the Presidium of the CC of the LCY;

The delegation of the Italian Communist Party led by Ugo Pecchioli, member of the Direction and of the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party, senator;

The delegation of the Workers' Party of Korea, led by Pak Song-chol, member of the Political Committee of the CC of the Workers' Party of Korea, vice-president of Democratic People's Republic of Korea;

The delegation of the Bulgarian Communist Party, led by Pencho Kubadinski, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the BCP, chairman of the National Council of the Fatherland Front;

The delegation of the Communist Party of Japan, led by Hiromu Murakami, vice-chairman of the Presidium of the CC of the Communist Party of Japan;

The delegation of the French Communist Party, led by Jean Colpin, member of the Political Bureau, secretary of the CC of the FCP;

The delegation of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, led by Horst Sindermann, member of the Politburo of the CC of the SUPG, president of the Presidium of the People's Chamber, vice-chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic;

The delegation of the Portuguese Communist Party led by Sergio Villarigues, member of the Political Commission, secretary of the CC of the Portuguese Communist Party;

The delegation of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, headed by Antal Apro, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the HSWP, chairman of the National Assembly of the Hungarian People's Republic;

The delegation of the Brazilian Communist Party, headed by Luis Carlos Prestes, secretary-general of the Brazilian Communist Party;

The delegation of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, headed by Josef Korbak, member of the Presidium of the CC of the CP of Czechoslovakia, deputy prime minister of the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, prime minister of the Czech Government;

The delegation of the United National Independence Party--UNIP of Zambia--headed by Daniel Lisulo, member of the CC of UNIP, prime minister of Zambia;

The delegation of the Polish United Workers' Party, headed by Stefan Olszowski, member of the Political Bureau, secretary of the CC of the PUWP;

The delegation of the Parti du Congres de l'Independance de Madagascar (AKFM), headed by Richard Andriamanjato, president of the party, member of the Supreme Revolutionary Council of Madagascar;

The delegation of the Communist Party of Cuba, led by Armando Hart Dávalos, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the CP of Cuba, minister of culture;

The delegation of the Communist Party of Chile led by Volodia Teitelboim, member of the Political Commission of the CC of the Communist Party of Chile;

The delegation of the Communist Party of Vietnam, led by Le Quang Dao, secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Vietnam;

The delegation of the Communist Party of Argentina, headed by Geronimo Arnedo Alvarez, general secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Argentina;

The delegation of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, led by Paavangiyn Damdin, secretary of the CC of the MPRP;

The delegation of the Socialist Party of Chile, led by Clodomiro Almeyda, general secretary of the CC of the SPC;

The delegation of the South-West Africa People's Organization, led by Sam Nujoma, SWAPO president;

The delegation of the Socialist People's Party of Denmark, led by SPP Chairman Gert Petersen;

The delegation of the Party of Progress and Socialism of Morocco, led by 'Ali Yata, general secretary of the PPS;

The delegation of the Revolutionary Institutional Party of Mexico led by Gustavo Carvajal Moreno, chairman of the Executive National Committee of the party;

The delegation of the Communist Party of Greece (Interior) led by Haralambos Drakopoulos, secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Greece (Interior);

The delegation of the Left Party-Communists of Sweden, led by Eivor Marklund, vice-chairman, member of the Executive Committee of the CC of the Left Party-Communists of Sweden;

The delegation of the Portuguese Socialist Party, led by Francisco Ramos da Costa, member of the National Commission of the PSP;

The delegation of the Communist Party of Australia, led by Judy Munday, president of the CPA;

The delegation of the Labour Party of Angola--MPLA, headed by Juliao Mateus Paulo, (Dino Matross), alternate member of the Political Bureau of the MPLA, deputy minister of defence, national political director of the armed forces and commissar of the Benguela Province.

The delegation of the Sandinista Front of National Liberation of Nicaragua, led by Doris Maria Tijerino Haslem, member of the National Secretariat of the SFNL, in charge of international relations;

The delegation of the Finnish Communist Party, led by Erkki Kauppila, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Finnish Communist Party, editor-in-chief of the newspaper KANSAN UUTiset;

[AU201420] The representative of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), E. M. S. Namboodiripad, general secretary of the party;

The representative of French Socialist Party, Anne Tregouet, deputy national secretary of the FSP;

The delegation of the Communist Party of Bolivia, led by Humberto Ramirez Cardenas, deputy general secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Bolivia;

The delegation of the Democratic Party of Guinea, led by General Lansana Diane, member of the National Political Bureau of the DPG, minister of the People's Army;

The delegation of the Socialist Party of Japan, headed by Shoichi Shimodaira, vice-chairman of the SPJ;

The delegation of the Communist Party of Greece, led by Loula Logaras, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Communist Party of Greece, secretary of the Athens party organization;

The delegation of the Australian Labor Party, led by Joan Taggart, vice-president of the party;

The delegation of the Communist Party of Belgium, led by Georges Glineur, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Communist Party of Belgium;

The delegation of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party of Iraq, led by Hikmat Brahim al-Azawi, member of the regional leadership of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party, member of the Revolution Command Council, in charge of the economic affairs of the council;

The delegation of the FRELIMO, led by Alberto Cassimo, member of the CC of the FRELIMO, minister of labour;

The delegation of the Communist Party of India, led by Prem Sagar Gupta, member of the National Council of the Communist Party of India, secretary of the council of the Delhi State;

The delegation of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party, led by General Ismail Ali Abokar, member of the Political Bureau, general secretary for party affairs, vice-president of the republic;

The delegation of the Italian Socialist Party, led by Claudio Signorille, vice-secretary of the CC of the ISP;

The delegation of the Communist Party of Great Britain, headed by Barry Williams, member of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain;

The delegation of the Mexican Communist Party, led by Antonio Becerra, member of the CC of the Mexican Communist Party, general secretary of the MCP Committee of the Chihuahua State;

The delegation of the Socialist Party of Senegal headed by Kabirou M'bodje, member of the Political Bureau of the SPS, deputy political secretary, vice-president of the National Assembly of the Republic of Senegal;

The delegation of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party of Syria, led by George Saddiqni, member of the national command and of the regional command of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party of Syria;

The delegation of the Mouvement Populaire de la Revolution of Zaire, led by Mipinga Kasenda, member of the Political Bureau, permanent secretary of the Political Bureau of the MPR;

The delegation of the Left Socialist Party of Norway, led by Borge Furre, chairman of the CC of the LSPN;

The delegation of the Sudanese Socialist Union, led by Hilary Logali, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the SSU, vice-secretary of the department for the southern region of the Sudan;

The delegation of the Communist Party of the Netherlands, led by Joop Ijlsberg, member of the Executive Committee of the CC of the party;

The representative of the Socialist Party of Belgium (Flemish), Jos van Eynde, member of the National Bureau of the SPB (Flemish), minister of state, honorary president of the Socialist International;

The representative of the Socialist Party of Belgium (Walloon), Jules Vandoren, member of the National Bureau of the SPB (Walloon);

The delegation of the Movement for Socialism of Venezuela, led by Fredy Munez, deputy general secretary of the MAS;

The delegation of the Iraqi Communist Party, led by Thabit Habib al-Ani (Yousef Othman Mahmud), member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Iraqi Communist Party;

The delegation of the People's Republican Party of Turkey, led by Imadettin Elmas, deputy general secretary of the PRP of Turkey;

The delegation of the Radical Party of Chile, led by Anselmo Sule, chairman of the Radical Party of Chile;

The delegation of the Congolese Labour Party, led by Florent Ntsiba, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Congolese Labour Party, head of the press, propaganda and information department, minister of information, posts and telecommunications;

The delegation of the Communist Party of Ireland, led by James Stewart, deputy general secretary of the CP of Ireland;

The delegation of the Communist Party of Colombia, led by Carlos Romero, member of the Executive Committee of the CC of the CP of Denmark [as published];

The delegation of the United Democratic Left--EDA of Greece, led by Sotiris Paulos, member of the EDA Executive Committee;

The delegation of the Palestine Liberation Organization, led by Abdelatif Abu-Hijla, director-general of the Political Department of the Palestine Liberation Organization;

The representative of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, Jose Federico de Carvajal, member of the Executive Commission of the SSW of Spain;

The delegation of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, led by Ratnasiri Wickramanayake, general secretary of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party;

The delegation of the Socialist Party of Working People of Mexico, led by Rafael Aguilar Talamantes, general secretary of the CC of the Socialist Party of Working People of Mexico;

The delegation of the Communist Party of Venezuela, led by Radames Larrazabal, member of the Political Bureau, secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Venezuela;

The delegation of the True Whig Party of Liberia, led by Jackson F. Dor, first vice chairman of the party;

The delegation of the Unified Party of Haitian Communists, led by Rene Theodore, secretary general of the CC of the Unified Party of Haitian Communists;

The delegation of the National Liberation Front Party of Algeria, led by Mohamad Yazid, member of the CC of the FNL, vice chairman of the Higher Council for Youth and Children;

The delegation of the Swiss Labor Party, led by Andre Muret, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Swiss Labor Party;

The delegation of the Progressive Party of Working People of Cyprus (AKEL), led by Hristos Petas, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of AKEL, secretary of the Nicosia county committee;

[AU201512] The delegation of the People's Party of Panama, led by Mark Reyes, member of the CC of the People's Party of Panama, director of the newspaper UNIDAD;

The delegation of the Provisional Military Administrative Council of Ethiopia--Derg led by Captain Tessema Belay, member of the CC of the Provisional Military Administrative Council of Ethiopia, chief administrator of Kaffa region;

The delegation of the Italian Democratic Socialist Party, led by Ruggero Poletti, assistant national secretary of that party; director of the newspaper L'UMANITA;

The delegation of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party of Lebanon led by Assem Kansou, secretary-general of the party;

The representative of the African Party for Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde islands, Francisco da Silva, member of the Fighting Executive Committee of the PAIGC;

The delegation of the Jordanian Communist Party, led by Isa Mdenat, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of that party;

The delegation of the Joint People's Action Movement--MAPU of Chile, led by Rodrigo Gonzales, member of the CC of the MAPU;

The delegation of the Revolutionary Party of Tanzania, led by J. M. Mwakangale, member of the National Executive Committee of the CC of that party;

The delegation of the People's National Congress of Guyana, led by Hugh Desmond Hoyte, member of the Administrative Committee and of the Central Executive Committee of that party, general councillor of the party, minister of economic development and cooperatives;

The delegation of the Left-Wing Radicals Movement of France, led by Marie-Therese Prevel, member of the National Bureau, national secretary of that movement;

The delegation of the All-People's Congress of Sierra Leone, led by Sorson I. Conteh, secretary in charge of international affairs of the CC of that party;

The delegation of the Communist Party of Austria, led by Franz Hager, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of that party;

The delegation of the People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica, led by Francisco Gamboa Guzman, member of the Political Commission, secretary of the CC of that party, general secretary of the San Jose Regional Department;

The delegation of the Worker-Peasant People's United Action Movement of Chile, MAPU-MT, led by Ismael Llona Mouat, member of the CC of the movement;

The delegation of the National Unity Party of Sri Lanka, led by Hector Alahajoon, member of the Executive Committee of the National Unity Party of Sri Lanka;

The delegation of the Destour Socialist Party of Tunisia, led by Mohamed Ghedira, member of the Political Bureau of the Destour Socialist Party, chairman of the National Union of Agriculture of Tunisia;

The delegation of the Communist Party of Uruguay, led by Enrique Rodriguez, member of the Executive Committee, secretary of the CC of the CP of Uruguay;

The delegation of the Zimbabwe African National Union--ZANU of Rhodesia, led by Simon Muzenda, vice-chairman of ZANU;

The delegation of the Zimbabwe African People's Union--ZAPU of Rhodesia, led by Steven Nkomo, member of the National Executive Office and of the Revolutionary Council, secretary of the CC of ZAPU;

The representative of the Labour Party of the Netherlands, Jaap van der Deof, first vice-chairman of the party;

The delegation of the Communist Party of Ecuador, led by Mahatma Guerrero Metz, member of the Executive Committee, secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Ecuador;

The delegation of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement--PASOK, led by Yioryios Genimates, member of the Secretariat of the Executive of the CC of PASOK;

The representative of the Communist Party of Canada, Bruce Magnuson, member of the Central Executive Committee of the CC of the Communist Party of Canada;

The delegation of the Progressive Socialist Party of Lebanon, led by Fouad Salman, general secretary of the party;

The delegation of the Dominican Communist Party, led by Jose Israel Cuello, member of the Political Commission of the Executive Committee, secretary of the CC of the Dominican Communist Party;

The delegation of the Bangladesh Communist Party, led by Nurul Islam, secretary of the CC of the Bangladesh Communist Party, chairman of the Bangladesh Youth Union;

The representative of the Communist Party of Honduras;

The representative of the Radical Political Party of the Netherlands, Michiel van de Kasteleen, member of the leadership of the party, secretary in charge of international affairs of the Radical Political Party of the Netherlands;

The delegation of the Communist Party of the U.S., led by Helen Winter, member of the Political Bureau, secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of the U.S.;

The delegation of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin, led by Erich Ziegler, member of the Bureau of the Steering Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin;

The delegation of the MAPAM Party of Israel, led by Meir Talmi, general secretary of the MAPAM Party;

The delegation of the Italian Republican Party, led by Aristide Gunnella, member of the Direction and Secretariat of the Italian Republican Party;

The delegation of the National Congress of South Africa (ANC), led by Stephen Dlamini, member of the National Executive Committee of the ANC, chairman of the Union of Trade Unions--SACTU;

[AU201525] The delegation of the Lebanese Communist Party led by Rafik Samboun, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Lebanese Communist Party, first secretary of the LCP organization in Beirut;

The delegation of the Danish Communist Party, led by Preben Henriksen, member of the Executive Committee, secretary of the CC of the Danish Communist Party;

The delegation of the People's General Congress of the People's Socialist Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, headed by Muhammad Alzenati, bureau chief in the Foreign Relations Secretariat of the People's General Congress;

The delegation of the Vanguard of the Malagasy Revolution Party--AREMA of Madagascar, led by Georges Ruphin member of the Political Bureau of the CC of AREMA, minister of information and ideology;

The delegation of the National Democratic Party of the Arab Republic of Egypt, headed by Ahmed Salama, member of the CC of the NDP of the Arab Republic of Egypt, chairman of the CC Commission for Education and Scientific Research;

The delegation of the German Communist Party of the Federal Republic of Germany, led by Martha Buschmann, member of the Presidium of the CC of the GCP;

The delegation of the Parti Africain de l'Indépendance of Senegal, headed by Bara Goudiabi, secretary-general of the PAI of Senegal;

The delegation of the Union for National Progress of Burundi--UPRONA, led by Commander Antoine-Marie Buhungu, member of the Supreme Revolutionary Council of Burundi, governor of the Ngozi Province;

The delegation of the Syrian Communist Party, led by Abdel Wahab Richwani, member of the CC of the Syrian Communist Party;

The delegation of the Workers' Party of Spain, led by Nazario Aguado Aguilar, member of the Permanent Secretariat of the Executive Committee, secretary of the CC of the Workers' Party of Spain;

The representative of the Workers' Party of Guatemala, Otto Sanchez, member of the CC of the Workers' Party of Guatemala;

The delegation of the Democratic Union of the Mali People, led by Colonel Youssouf Traore, member of the Central Executive Committee, secretary for information and culture of the union;

The delegation of the Democratic Center Union Party, EDIK, of Greece, led by George Kotzas, member of the CC of the EDIK;

The delegation of the Labour Party of Israel, led by Hayim Bar-Lev, director-general of the party;

The delegation of the San Marino Communist Party, led by Giuseppe Renzi, member of the Direction of the San Marino Communist Party, chairman of the Control Commission of the party;

The delegation of the Communist Party of Luxembourg, Fernand Hubsch, member of the Executive Committee of the CC of the Communist Party of Luxembourg;

The delegation of the Progressive People's Party of Guyana, led by Narbada Mersaud, member of the CC of the Progressive People's Party;

The delegation of the Tudeh Party of Iran, led by Ahmad Rassadi, member of the CC of the party;

The representative of the Finnish People's Democratic League, Kalevi Suomela, member of the Steering Council of the League;

The representative of the Communist Party of Guadeloupe, Emmanuel Ibene, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Communist Party of Guadeloupe;

The delegation of the National Party of Bangladesh, led by Mohammad Ismail, vice-chairman of the National Executive Committee of the party;

The delegation of the Democratic People's Party of Afghanistan, led by Khan Meer Gheur, member of the CC of the DPP, vice-chairman of the Public Health Department;

The delegation of the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Ecuador led by Fernando Maldonado Donoso, member of the Executive Committee, secretary of the CC of the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Ecuador;

The delegation of the National Social Syrian Party of Lebanon led by Marwan Fares, member of the Executive Committee of the National Social Syrian Party of Lebanon;

The delegation of the COPEI Party of Venezuela led by Jorge Sucre, alternate member of the National Executive Committee of the COPEI Party;

The delegation of the Party of Democratic Socialism (KODISO) of Greece led by Haralambos Protopapas, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the KODISO;

The delegation of the Socialist Party of Costa Rica led by Luis Fernando Alfaro, member of the Political Commission, secretary of the CC of the Socialist Party of Costa Rica;

The delegation of the Yemeni Socialist Party, led by Sa'id Salim al-Khaibah, chairman of the Auditing Commission of the Yemeni Socialist Party;

The delegation of the Democratic Party of the Ivory Coast led by Konana Kouassi, member of the Political Bureau of the Steering Committee of the Democratic Party of the Ivory Coast;

The representative of the Socialist Party--EDEK of Cyprus, Doros Theodorou, secretary of the CC of the EDEK;

The delegation of the Revolutionary Leftist Movement--MIR--of Chile, led by Gladys Diaz, member of the CC of MIR;

The delegation of the Communist Party of Mauritius led by Leetoraj Chundramun, chairman of the CC of the Communist Party of Mauritius;

The delegation of the National People's Party of Ghana, led by Eric Adjei, member of the CC of the National People's Party of Ghana;

The delegation of the Mouvement Revolutionnaire National pour le Developpement of Ruanda led by Claudien Habarushaka, member of the CC of the MRND, secretary-general, the Ministry of the Interior;

The representative of the Communist Party of Paraguay, Hugo Campos, member of the CC of the Communist Party of Paraguay, director of the newspaper ADELANTE;

The delegation of the Union National des Forces Populaires of Morocco led by Ahmed Souhaili, member of the Central Council of the Central Committee of the UNFP of Morocco;

The representative of the Union Democratique Voltaique, Harouna Traoure, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Union Democratique Voltaique, minister of higher education and scientific research;

The delegation of the Socialist Party of Uruguay, led by Carlos Piriz Mac Goll, member of the CC of the Socialist Party of Uruguay;

The delegation of the Socialist Party of San Marino led by Alvaro Faetanini, member of the Direction of the Socialist Party of San Marino;

The delegation of the Rassemblement du Peuple Togolais led by Samon Kortho, member of the CC of the Rassemblement du Peuple Togolais, minister of rural management;

The representative of the National Liberation Party of Costa Rica, Alfonso Carro Zuniga, member of the National Political Directorate of the National Liberation Party of Costa Rica;

The representative of the Movement for the Liberation of the Islands of Sao Tome and Principe, Flavio Quaresma Pines dos Santos, ambassador.

Gunter Markscheffel also attends the proceedings of the congress as observer on behalf of the Social-Democratic Party of Federal Germany.

Greetings to the Twelfth Congress of the RCP have also been sent by the following parties:

The People's Alliance of Iceland,  
The Communist Party of South Africa,  
The Parti Ouvrier Socialiste Luxembourgeois,  
The Workers' Party of Norway,  
The Socialist Party of Switzerland,  
The Indian National Congress Party,  
The Communist Party of Sri Lanka,  
The Social Democratic Party of Sweden,  
The Botswana Democratic Party,  
The Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine,  
The Benin People's Revolutionary Party.

CSO: 2700

PARTY JOURNAL DISCUSSES HUMAN RELATIONS IN WORK ATMOSPHERE

Human Relations in Self-Management

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 20, 20 Oct 79 pp 17-18

[Article by Florin Ciotea, scientific researcher at the Tirgu-Mures Social Sciences Center: "Human Relations and Personal Incentive in Self-Management"]

[Text] The discussion published in ERA SOCIALISTA No 15, 1979 on the subject of "Improvement of Human Relations in Industrial Labor Collectives Under Expanded Worker Self-Management and Self-Administration" aroused wide interest. The editors have received articles on this subject in which the authors try to contribute to a more intensive examination of the problem and point out other aspects of it. We are publishing some of these articles in abridged form in order to further facilitate the exchange of views and the dialog of ideas.

I was interested to read the opinions expressed by some members of the discussion of so important and complex a problem as "Improvement of Human Relations in Industrial Labor Collectives Under Expanded Worker Self-Management and Self-Administration."

While sharing in the views expressed in some of the published articles, especially the one indicating the need of integrating the respective problems in the broader context of "relations between the human factor and social development," I should like to express some thoughts about the dialectical unity between human relations, self-management and incentive. I do not think this point was sufficiently considered, not just in ERA SOCIALISTA's "Discussions" to be sure, but in all our periodicals and technical literature.

In this matter I assume that under worker self-management, of which self-administration is an essential support, the new human relations can and should be defined solely in the light of the position and status of every member of the labor collective as coowner and coparticipant. On the other hand I think the effectiveness of the mechanism of direct democracy, in the form of worker self-management, depends upon the nature of the personal and collective (social) incentive, or the motivational structure of the participative interest which, in turn, is expressed by what I might call participative consciousness. The nature

of the human relations to a great extent depends upon the relations that are established between the personal and social incentives and between the individual motivations and social requirements in the self-management process.

Introduction of self-administration and self-financing, the net output and the newly created value as main indices, and workers profit-sharing has lent self-management new dimensions that can bring about a true qualitative leap in social management as a whole. Unquestionably the process of self-management, based entirely upon self-administration, requires a corresponding development of the production relations and social relations properly speaking that exist within the institutional-organizational structures of the enterprises, especially since self-management is not just an economic phenomenon but an extremely complex process, a structured and dynamic series of social, production and ultimately human relations wherein the material and nonmaterial factors and the individual and collective (group and social) elements are interrelated in a dialectical unity.

Having a political character par excellence, self-management requires promotion and improvement of all means and instruments of action conducive to stimulation and implementation of the requirements formulated by the political system of society both for optimal and efficient operation of the economic mechanism (growth of production, productivity, effectiveness, profits, quality etc.) and for practical implementation of the essential principle of socialist social management, namely "government of the producers by producers and for producers" (Marx).

Functional unity between the status of producer, owner (group, social or collective) and beneficiary (individual and social) is in fact a critical social-political requirement for the manifestation of every worker as a "political subject."

Worker self-management requires some qualitative changes in human relations, including more intensive identification of the individual with the collective. The sociological studies on this subject show that in some labor collectives human relations are not yet fully "socialized," so to speak, and that the meaning of socializing human relations is insufficiently (or not at all) understood, so that the participative interest and participative consciousness are predominantly based upon individual material motives (the desire to earn more as an end in itself). Therefore the material requirements and needs pertaining to the "economic compulsion" of the "rule of necessity" cannot be entirely met by a "liberating abundance" of material values, and the individuals' participative actions still require the material interest to a great extent as a chief motive. Hence the predominantly material character of the participative interest which, when rendered absolute, can in its turn incline people toward gain at any price and by any means, even if they conflict with the social interests and their own personalities. Under these circumstances the participative consciousness is imbued itself with the material elements that constitute the main motive of the participative interest. But since participation in self-management has limitations due to the unilateral structure of the individual interest and to superficial and incomplete perception of the latter, contradictions can arise that interfere with development of individuals as political subjects.

Since the new economic-financial mechanism creates the objective basis of the material incentive through the remuneration system, through profit-sharing, and ultimately through enterprise self-administration, the participative interest and perception of it are powerfully stimulated. But meanwhile the formation and development of the workers' political consciousness require discovery and promotion of means of education and action that will permit adequate socialization. We cannot speak of a more highly motivated participative consciousness until the requirements and imperatives of participation become inner (rational and affective-volitive) necessities. This is also one of the essential factors requiring further and more effective promotion of the means of action that will enhance the effects upon behavior, attitude and consciousness.

In a broader context, political socialization requires the arousal and reinforcement of a participative interest motivated by spiritual needs and awareness of the necessity of participation. However this does not detract from the stimulating and activating role of the material factors in legitimizing the participative interest but lends it new support and a better content.

There is no doubt that in the present stage of our society's development work is still a means of existence (which was impossible until the requirements of "the rule of necessity" were completely met). Correct perception of work is very valuable for defining participative consciousness and behavior, especially in the process of self-management. Comprehension of the ontologically new nature of work under socialism, through a comprehensive and sustained effort and through knowledge and perception, can help to unleash and activate the participative capabilities of all workers.

Participation understood and experienced as a vital necessity integrally related to work and fulfillment of the personality becomes itself an important stimulus of the personal incentive, with a dynamic, stimulating and improving effect upon the status of collective manager and owner. Objectively determined but interiorized in the individual consciousness, will and effect, the need to participate must determine the very concept of personal incentive in the process of self-management.

Since individual and collective labor productivity and production, effective human activity, and all material and cultural values increasingly depend upon participation in management, it is to be expected that preparation for this role and "apprenticeship in democracy" will play an important part in the process of political socialization. In my opinion education of people to be not only performers but also managers and beneficiaries has been instituted as a major motive for participation in self-management. The need to know, the organizing spirit, courage, responsibility and awareness of the necessity of fulfilling the personal potential in participation in self-management are indispensable traits of character and behavior.

Political socialization through education and propaganda is ineffective unless the latter succeed in preparing people in every respect to perform their role as coparticipants in self-management. I feel initiation and "apprenticeship" in the problems of participating in self-management that require "learning

roles" and indoctrination must begin in the first years of schooling, when the pupils should be exposed to problems of organization and management. This requires adequate emphasis upon disciplines of accounting, administration and organization and training of the future workers in fields indispensable to their performance as owners and coparticipants in management, such as sociology, psychology, labor science, science of management, etc. In any case training for participation should not be left to the future when youth has been integrated in work but should precede this and be anticipatory and projective. For this reason mastery of the dialectical and historical materialist conception, of scientific socialism, and of our party's and state's policy in general are essential to the political socialization of youth.

### Integration of Young Workers

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 20, 20 Oct 79 pp 18-20

[Article by Constantin Rotaru, secretary of the Iasi Municipal Committee of the Communist Union of Youth: "Social-Professional Integration of Newly Hired Youth"]

[Text] The discussion on the subject of "Improvement of Human Relations" (ERA SOCIALISTA No 15, 1979) is one of those that should be continued (perhaps as a regular column), in view of the importance of the human factor in the production process and especially of the urgent need for the administrators in the economy to inform themselves on methods of working with people.

The comments in the journal are interesting for the variety of theoretical points made as well as the practical suggestions and solutions advanced to resolve a problem with many unknowns, namely human relations.

Social-professional integration of youths, especially the recently hired ones, is certainly one aspect of human relations. I have formulated a few suggestions and considerations on the subject under discussion on the basis of the present efforts of some economic units in Iasi municipality and the work of the UTC [Union of Communist Youth] organizations.

In view of the scientific-technical revolution and the prospects outlined by the draft documents of the 12th Party Congress, which revolutionize the productive forces in an unprecedented way, control and management of this process directly depend upon the attention given to the human aspect of the problems. I am thinking of the fact that there is much discussion of machines and materials in many economic units, in various working sessions and on other occasions, while people are discussed "in general" and usually when some difficulty arises.

The role of work in the formation of the individual and the collective is well known. The fact that we still encounter youths readily inclined to quit their jobs, not to report where they were assigned after graduation, to hunt for soft jobs, and to suddenly fall ill in the periods when their classmates are going patriotic labor projects, all these are points that attract the attention of parents, schools, youth organizations and educators in the economic units to

the need of more realism and social responsibility in explaining to youth both the "bright" side and the difficulties to be overcome in life to close the gap between youthful aspirations based on a distorted picture of work and life and of what they will do after graduation and the specific conditions on the job they will perform.

The administrators' intensified efforts to dispel the view that fulfillment of economic tasks is urged from the bottom to the top while rewards or priorities in solving personal problems are granted from top to bottom are important in fostering suitable human relations in the industrial labor collectives. Now that we are actually facing some difficulties in solving social problems, especially housing problems, I think more prompt solution of workers' personal problems would greatly improve the situation in some collectives. I have in mind problems that do not take special efforts or a long time to resolve, or cases where it should be explained why it is objectively impossible to solve more difficult problems immediately. A participative attitude is better maintained in a labor collective if the workers are promptly informed of progress in solving problems that concern them.

Human relations in the industrial collectives are directly affected by the manager's personality as well as the degree of social-professional integration of the members of the collective and their interest in the enterprise. From the standpoint of this approach it follows that improvement of human relations is a matter of all-around improvement and fulfillment of the individual in and through work. Youth is the center of gravity of this effort, with the best chances of success.

According to the provisions of the draft documents of the 12th Party Congress now under public discussion, the labor force will amount to nearly 11.5 million in 1990, making it possible to include all youth in socioeconomic activity. This objective means more work for the educators, managers and decision-makers in schools and economic units to indoctrinate the young labor force in its productive function and other aspects of its social significance and mission such as effective social-professional integration, exploitation of the individual's creative capacity, and satisfaction of the human requirements of labor.

Experience tells us that more and more economic units in Iasi municipality are emphasizing recruitment and hiring of youth, which they regard as inseparable from the process of social integration. To make this process more rapid and efficient, they have taken such measures as forming collectives in every enterprise or institution that are composed of representatives of all educational elements to check and assist the new young workers. The viability of this particular effort is attested by its successful expansion in a number of Iasi's economic units and institutions.

For the success of this program, emphasis has been placed on reception of the new employees with a show of friendship, tact and solicitude, and the "Guide for New Employees" has been prepared to provide the needed information about the formalities upon hiring. When they are hired the youths are given the enterprise handbook and meetings are arranged for them with the enterprise

managers to acquaint them with the enterprise's social, cultural and production traditions, the role and importance of their jobs and the possibilities the latter offer for their development, their rights and obligations, and the persons who will help them. Knowledge of the enterprise, contact with the collective, good working conditions, priority arrangements for accommodations in the bachelor quarters and the ration card for meals in the canteen charged to the first wage payment, regular discussions with the managers in sections with youths about their adjustment to their jobs, the difficulties they encounter and the suggestions they make, enlistment of the new employees in the educational activities of the UTC organizations, publicizing results of work, and use of the broadcasts of the radio-relay stations and the wall newspapers to point out the good behavior of the new young workers are also methods that have proved effective.

The suitability and effectiveness of the program "Comrade and Friend in Work and Life" are demonstrated by the fact that in the first year of production an increasing number of youths are already asking and being helped to supplement their studies in evening or correspondence courses, that they are showing noteworthy results in all indices in the performance of their tasks, and that the stability of youths in enterprises is increasing, with a considerable reduction in job turnover.

But we would fall short of the truth and reality if we did not mention that there are still some defects in the social-professional integration of youths. For example, in a number of enterprises hiring of youths is limited to a few formalities. Sometimes it takes far too long to fill out the employment forms, or interest is taken solely in occupational problems to the neglect of social and living ones, although it is well known that the latter vitally affect the quality of the work performed.

Under such circumstances it is not strange that we find youths who do not know how to plan their personal budgets and spend their pay haphazardly, sometimes on useless things, and ignore the advantages of eating in the canteen. They do not know how to behave or dress under given circumstances, and they have low standards for spending their leisure time as usefully and instructively as possible. These deficiencies pertaining more to organization of their private lives also occur in their professional activity with other implications in various respects, such as disorder at the place of work, careless maintenance and operation of machines and equipment, waste of raw materials and materials, and poor work. There are also a number of defects in the use of the system of material and moral encouragement of youths, and in granting employment grades and classifications, the title of production leader, etc. Human relations in some collectives and the wrong attitude of some experienced workers or even of shop managers are still a problem. Therefore I feel the courses for retraining engineers, technicians and foremen, if not the education plans, must include sociological, pedagogical and psychological subjects.

Commuters are a class of employees requiring more attention from all managers in the economic units. The annually growing number of youths taking up trades until recently practices by men only in a number of industrial sectors like metallurgy, machine building, construction etc. gives rise to particular problems

in their social-professional integration and greater responsibilities for the managers in the economic units to provide suitable jobs and create a proper atmosphere in the labor collectives.

In view of the importance of social-professional integration of youth, which is not limited to the beginning period of activity, the Iasi Municipal Committee of the UTC, jointly with the other educational elements, has planned integration as a permanent process including all youths and especially the newly employed ones. We are trying to make all the UTC organizations and the managers in the economic units understand the necessity of involving themselves more directly in the youths' entire activity.

#### Rehabilitation of Juveniles

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 20, 20 Oct 79 pp 20-21

[Article by Petre Andrei, Iasi: "Social Reintegration of Delinquent Minors"]

[Text] The discussion of improvement of human relations published in ERA SOCIALISTA covers a subject matter that can be expanded and should be more intensively studied from many viewpoints. For example it is well known that the process of industrialization and urbanization is accompanied by phenomena of imbalance and sometimes "deterioration" of human relations, and of increased delinquency and misbehavior. A study of this subject shows that the antisocial manifestations are fostered by the subjective factors determined by specific situations. And these factors find a favorable medium in the subjects upon which the educational elements have acted improperly.

The study referred to a sampling of cases of minors in Iasi County. The number of cases studied permits some conclusions, but it must be borne in mind that examination of the minors' deviant behavior encounters difficulties because there is no uniform criterion for evaluating, detecting or recording it, while many cases are unreported and escape notice.

One of the first conclusions is that most often the deviant behavior appears at puberty, on the threshold of maturity, in both boys and girls between 13 and 15. This aspect requires the attention of educators at this age especially. But the educators are acting upon the individual gradually through the educational process in the family, schools, cultural and educational institutions for youth, production activity and society.

Consequently the study covered the educational elements as far as possible. According to the Family Code, parental protection includes the upbringing, education and occupational training of youths according to their capabilities. It establishes the principle of the parents' equality in child protection. It is maintained in general that delinquent minors appear in disorganized families. The check made proves that only 30 percent of the cases come from families in which the parents are divorced, live out of wedlock, were convicted of crimes or have vices. In the other cases the children were from organized families with employed parents and brothers or sisters capable of work. It was asked whether the antisocial acts were not committed to meet some urgent needs.

Most of the families are large, with three to five children, 50 percent of the minors smoke and consume alcohol, and 75 percent come from the outskirts of the city. In most of the cases the parents lack training, have unskilled jobs, and are graduates of four or five grades. They do not have elementary pedagogical knowledge and impair the children's development by their behavior, which is either too lax or too severe, and especially because they maintain no contact with the schools. In the study made we found that in 80 percent of the cases of antisocial manifestations on the part of youths both they and their parents had no more than 10 books at home, regardless of the degree of scholastic or occupational training.

Our studies revealed insufficient cooperation between school and family. If the parents do not cooperate with the school, neither does the school cooperate with the parents, and so the same distance is maintained between desk and chair. The class is usually composed of "good" and "poor" pupils, which distinction is reflected in different treatment. Out of an attempt at self-fulfillment, the teacher pays more attention to the "good" pupils. The "bad" pupils are neglected, although the teacher should concentrate on the undereducated pupils to bring them up to the level of the good ones. Because of this discriminatory treatment, the "poor" pupils are increasingly handicapped in the respective subject and some run away from school and readily fall under bad influences.

The study made in two parallel classes showed that most of the youths dissociate themselves from those that behave antisocially, avoid them, and deliberately single them out. This attitude denotes a correct and considered awareness but it reveals the fact that most of the youths in these classes are not considering or seeking ways of integrating the youths with behavioral disturbances in the organized group. This aspect also brings out the lack of collaboration between the schools and the youth organizations in finding solutions that will avoid stereotypes and produce satisfactory results, in accordance with the bad influences to which some youths are subject and the inclinations that they have.

As regards the youths' education through work, it should be noted that it was difficult to place them because of their lack of qualifications. They were hired with no consideration of training or aptitude, and therefore few of them continued to work at the jobs to which they were assigned. Some of them are not working at all and others changed their jobs. On the other hand it was found that some labor collectives lack the experience and pedagogical qualifications to provide for the education and qualification of youth.

The social environment also has a powerful effect upon the youths' education. The study made shows that 63.2 percent of the youths with deviant behavior come from an urban environment and 36.8 percent from a rural one, and 42.3 percent of the offenses in the urban environment were committed in groups usually formed at a distance from home or school, in the company or under the leadership of older persons who already had convictions. These acts are more frequent in the peripheral areas of the city that are not yet organized by town planning. Most of the offenses are against private property.

In our society protection of minors is under the supervision and control of the competent authority, which is a function of the committees or bureaus of the communal, city, and municipal people's councils. This function is part of the instructive-educational process conducted by the party and it is performed by the executive committees in the form of some general tasks of guidance, control, notification of the trial courts, review and decision. To be sure the local state organs show noteworthy results in this area, as our sociological study showed, but we are often confronted with the lack of preventive guidance and control as well as failure to notify the trial courts. This cannot be justified by the large number of actions the executive committee of the people's council must resolve, beyond the capacity of the existing personnel, as they sometimes try to justify it. It is unquestionably a matter of organizing work and combatting bureaucracy and too much paper shuffling. Under the circumstances and on the basis of a thorough examination of the content and methods of educational work in the spirit of the new quality promoted by the party, specific measures must be taken to meet the need of a centralized record of delinquent minors and a check on their development until their complete social rehabilitation. It is also necessary to redouble the efforts to educate the educators, to find new pedagogical methods, and to establish effective collaboration among all educational elements. This effort should emphasize the areas which, according to the studies, show the most frequent cases of delinquent minors. More specialists, teachers, sociologists, psychiatrists, police and prosecuting personnel etc. should be enlisted in this activity to determine what must be done for the best resolution of each particular case in complete knowledge of each minor. Elimination of the indicated deficiencies will undoubtedly reduce the antisocial acts and help to eradicate them from Romanian socialist society.

#### Role of 'Work Style'

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 20, 20 Oct 79 p 21

[Article by University Lecturer Dr Adrian Nicolau, Iasi: "Improvement of Human Relations in Labor Collectives"]

[Text] The discussion on "Improvement of Human Relations" published recently in ERA SOCIALISTA has aroused and undoubtedly will arouse particular interest among social scientists and especially among those working directly in material production. Under intensified socialist democracy, brought about by institutionalizing worker self-management and self-administration, the need of finding optimal models of human interaction is justified for two reasons, namely development of strong, close-knit workers collectives and as a prerequisite for efficient production and economic effectiveness. From this standpoint we think a significant statement was made in the said discussion by Gheorghe Hlaj, first secretary of the Bihor County Party Committee, who pointed out that "For the life of our economic units, good organization of people is just as important as organization of the production means and processes, and perhaps even more important and more far-reaching."

Most psychosociological studies or opinion surveys of "human relations" in a collective are focused upon one or two aspects that interest the researchers or

decision-makers at the time. But isolation of social-human aspects or a few indices cannot provide a comprehensive picture of all the psychosocial factors entering into an interaction. Consequently the diagnostic of the social-human reality obtained in this way cannot reflect the entire complexity of the psychosociological problems in an enterprise or institution or the interaction, conditioning and interdependence of the factors.

We think the approach to the psychosociological aspects of the enterprise should begin with the diagnostic of its structural and social-human characteristics, with emphasis upon providing the industrial and psychosociological conditions to achieve an efficient activity. The entire analysis should be based upon the diagnosis of the organizational climate as a prerequisite for effective action. The working climate and the satisfactions of the working personnel do not contain the same psychosocial parameters for the whole human ensemble in an enterprise. The labor problems differ with the structures of the various sections, shops and teams and the aspects of human interaction also take different forms. The analysis must be "lowered" to the level of the working groups, with their distinctive structures and processes. In the context we observe that the group plays the part of a "relay" or "filter" between the organizational climate and the style of management, processing the information and adjusting the norms of the organization to the characteristics of the group and the requirements of its members. The climate also affects the style as an independent variable. In its turn the work style of the managers produces a good climate and better satisfaction among the members of the labor community.

A study made in three industrial enterprises in Iasi County\* leads to the same conclusions. It investigated 466 subjects at the Iasi Victoria Silk Weaving Mill, 177 subjects at the Iasi Moldova Knitwear Enterprise, and 104 subjects at the Tirgu Frumos Aurora Footwear Factory. The studies showed that a good climate frees the members of the working group from inhibitions, enables them to concentrate on their tasks, and encourages them to participate creatively and to fulfill themselves as personalities. Therefore the indication of a good climate is every member's perception of his relations to the collective, to the unit, and to his job. Moreover the investigated subjects were asked their opinions of the industrial, living and working conditions, the flow of information, motivation, participation in decisions and organizational control, and the organizational structure.

Their opinions for all indices center around the middle of the scale. The average of the scale in all three enterprises is exceeded in the case of one index alone (organizational control). On the other hand the lowest averages in all the enterprises were obtained for "participation in decisions," which requires the party and trade-union organs to take strict measures. The factors must be identified that cause rejection of all collective suggestions, in conflict with the principle of collective management promoted by our society.

The working group provides each member with a social background for personal assertion and fulfillment. It encourages adjustment to the demands of the job

\*The study was made jointly with Univ. Reader Dr Tiberiu Pruna, Univ Lecturer Ioana Maria Georgescu, and Univ Assistant Elena Hodorogea.

and the organizational strictures. The relations in the working group express the evolution of the social standings of the members. Our efforts to determine opinions on encouragement of work, orientation toward a goal, encouragement of interpersonal relations, the group's aid to its members, and the professional capacity of the members of the group showed that the working group's general commitment to the objectives (including here the members' professional capacity and the quality of interpersonal relations) is highly esteemed. In regard to the index "help accorded by the group," some changes are needed in attitudes and interpersonal behavior to conform to the principle of cooperation and mutual aid promoted by socialist ethics.

The style of work and management play an important part in any socioeconomic organization. "Style" means translation of a conception of work and life, of collaboration and cooperation, or of human relations into action. It is a result of the climate in the labor collective and of the satisfactions of its members, but in its turn it also affects these psychosociological variables. The management style of those with responsible functions and of the foremen is rated adequate. In the case of two enterprises a greater effort is considered necessary on behalf of the individual factor and on behalf of knowledge, development and improvement of human relations. Moreover, lower averages than the other indices were obtained in the areas concerning encouragement of work and team spirit. These findings might constitute grounds for rethinking and reorganizing behavior in the hierarchy of relations.

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CSO: 2700

# SHORTCOMINGS IN SCIENCE BOOKS FOR YOUTH

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 20, 20 Oct 79 pp 22-24

[Article by Prof Dr Tudor Opris: "Quality of Science Books for Youth"]

[Text] In outlining socioeconomic development up to 1985 and in the long-range view to 1990 at the Joint Plenum of the Party Central Committee and the Supreme Council of Socioeconomic Development in July 1979, Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out that the entire people must participate in the intensive development of science and technology, introduction of advanced methods, and promotion of the new in all fields through the assertion of more enterprising and revolutionary thinking in science, in production and in all social activity.

Education of people who can carry out these very difficult tasks to meet the growing demands of society requires a sustained and coordinated effort on the part of all educators. Our intensive long-range development in all respects makes it particularly necessary to arm the youth of today with the needed disciplines to enable them to fully understand surrounding reality, to take a revolutionary and long-range view of social progress, and to take really effective action in this direction.

Alongside the other educational aids, a very important part is played by scientific books. I am thinking not only of those for highly qualified specialists but especially of books of general information that disseminate some of the latest disciplines in various fields among the broad ranks of youth, and not of youth alone. Therefore I consider it important to examine some aspects of the quality of the books of scientific information published in Romania as well as certain problems confronting literature of this kind.

## Evolution of Science Books

Books of scientific information have a long tradition in Romania, beginning in Transylvania with the publication of the first almanacs (1733-1737), which circulated in many copies in all areas inhabited by Romanians and included, among other things, advice on sowing grain crops, ideas of astronomy, etc. In 1785 Ioan Molnar Piuariu wrote an introductory book on agriculture entitled "Practical Advice on Beekeeping," and Gh. Sincai, one of the pillars of the

Transylvanian School, authored several works popularizing scientific knowledge such as "Field Economy," "Natural History," and "Natural Education to Overcome the People's Superstitions," published between 1795 and 1805. The activity of the Transylvanian Enlightenment was resumed on a higher level by socialists in the 1880's, who rallied many scientists around the journal CONTEMPORANUL and encouraged publication of widely available popular collections on various subjects, such as "The Library for All" and "Minerva."

The tradition was continued in the following decades. The most renowned scholars of the time joined the effort to popularize science and wrote many books and pamphlets, some of which have become classics. For instance Prof Ion Simionescu's efforts were basic to "Useful Knowledge," a highly popular collection in a large printing.

But in general the popular science books of this period were suited in style and treatment to a public with a high proportion of illiterates and modest cultural attainments. Under these circumstances the literature of this kind was largely elementary, taking up general scientific subjects with no great literary or aesthetic pretensions and treating them simply, clearly and often polemically, since it was openly campaigning against mysticism and superstition.

With the cultural revolution that followed the establishment of the people's power, the scientific-atheist education of the masses became a state matter and was assigned to a specialized institution, the Society for Dissemination of Science and Culture (later the Council for Dissemination of Scientific Knowledge), which was equipped with a wealth of propaganda material and a wide circle of lecturers. The gradual elimination of illiteracy and the generalization of 7, 8 and later 10 year education, as well as the expansion of the high school system, raised the people's cultural standards spectacularly. Scientific propaganda began to interest the mass media more and more and used more far-reaching methods (traveling scientific brigades, for example). Meanwhile popular science literature was differentiated, either by adaptation to age groups (children, adolescents, and self-taught adults) or by grading according to the reader's scientific level (elementary, medium, higher), and this led to a reorganization of the publishing system.

The rising standard of general public education required a shift from books of schematic explanation to those of scientific information designed to add a supplement of current data and knowledge to the textbook background. At the same time it became increasingly urgent to present a richer content in a more literary form. All these changes led to reconsideration of the position of literature of scientific information, and of its educational value and function in correlation with its artistic merits.

In the present stage, that of the technical-scientific revolution and accelerated improvement and self-improvement of all workers' education and especially that of youth for a better and more rapid social-professional integration, scientific instruction and education involve a whole series of factors such as schools, families, on-the-job qualification, individual self-improvement, institutionalized improvement, and the mass media. Against this background books

of scientific information must meet the requirements of multiqualification and the new interdisciplinary view of teaching and they must aid the integration of education with research and production by stimulating creativeness and interest in the new as far as possible.

Popular science books are no longer adaptations of treatises or textbooks on an intelligible level as they used to be but are now becoming creative works and original syntheses on the borderline as it were between a scientific treatise and a literary work. They take the form primarily of auxiliary reading in schools, supplementing the disciplines and enhancing the textbook's educational effect. Good supplementary scientific literature makes the textbook more effective and consequently improves the content of education.

We must also realize that these books are becoming an indispensable tool for those attending cultural-scientific universities or qualification courses and for the self-educated. Nor is it at all surprising that in a period of intensive proliferation of scientific information these works are an urgent necessity, constituting real building blocks of general culture. From the standpoint of the requirements of modern instruction and education, general culture is essential to any rapid or harmonious social integration and the source of intellectual satisfaction from comprehension of the widest and most varied universe of knowledge.

#### A "Cinderella" of Publishing?

Books of scientific information are published in Romania, in or outside of collections, by the Scientific and Encyclopedic Publishing House and by other Bucharest and provincial houses (Albatross, Ion Creanga, Dacia, Junimea et al.). In general they are beamed at age groups and the educational levels of the various categories of readers. The collection "Science for All" presents current subjects in various fields of science and technology with a popular approach (Scientific and Encyclopedic Publishing House). More heterogeneous in subject matter, the "Crystal" collection (also including works of practical advice, entertainment etc.) and the "Syntheses" series of the comprehensive "Lyceum" collection (Albatross Publishing House) are specially intended for studious youth. The "ABC," "Alpha," "Plants," and "100 of ..." collections (Ion Creanga Publishing House) are for the youngest readers, pupils in the upper and lower grades of elementary school. On the whole the average annual increase in publication of books of scientific information does not average much over 100 titles, most of them in the "Science for All" collection." Is this much or little?

There can be no single answer because the situation varies greatly in each case. The books of scientific information meant for youth and in general for readers with some education are relatively numerous and varied in subject matter, and any gaps in them can be filled by the extensive scientific literature on a higher and medium level. But the same cannot be said for the books of this kind intended for the millions of children and adolescents to whom scientific works of a certain level and style are of course unavailable. Popular science literature is only about 7-10 percent of the entire planned output of the publishing houses for children and youth, being represented by special collections and books outside collections.

Actually on the stands for juvenile literature in bookstores the scientific books are overwhelmed by the large number of storybooks in prose or verse which are often dull and outmoded in style, hackneyed, and even stupid at points and at best have the merit of being beautifully bound and illustrated. I consider this imbalance truly anachronistic in the era of the technical-scientific revolution and the information explosion. Of course we appreciate the educational value of the fairy tales and moralizing stories, the verses about dwarfs, crones, flowers and insects, or the literature of adventure, but regardless of the humanistic messages they convey the young generation needs more exposure to the realities characteristic of our time. Let us not underrate the interests and aspirations of youth. The children and adolescents of today are far different from those of 20 or 30 years ago in their interests and their levels of comprehension and aspiration. I have frequently found this in my work as an educator. The various mass media (especially radio and TV) have contributed a great deal to this change, as well as the schools, but the main influence is the social environment as a whole, with its rising standard of culture and civilization in which the new generations grow up and develop.

Under these circumstances we must come to grips with the questions so characteristic of youth, in order to satisfy them and at the same time to whet their scientific curiosity and technical interests. But in this respect the role of the books of scientific information (including those in the collections the publishing houses put out for children and youth) is mainly a token one, because the few titles that are published are soon out of print. This fact is well known, but for some reason the schools continue to recommend books of scientific information as outside reading that have been out of print for years, to the bewilderment of pupils and parents who search the bookstores and second-hand bookstores to find them.

At the National Colloquium on Literature for Children in June 1979 it was pointed out that the literature of scientific information is the Cinderella of all forms of juvenile literature. Some members of the colloquium tried to explain this by the intermediate position of this kind of book between the belletristic properly speaking, from which its methods (narration and description) and imagistic style are borrowed, and the scientific work, from which its information is derived, making it actually a stepchild abandoned by both parents. The scientists, researchers and specialists in any given field stick to their own level of erudition and disown it on the ground that it is a mere compilation existing parasitically on the scientific data of learned books, while authors place it outside literature and deny its attributes of artistic originality and invention.

These prejudices are also operative on other levels. Because of the ambiguous status of these books, their authorship is considered neither a scientific undertaking nor a writer's achievement, and its prestige is at the low point of the whole publishing system.

I feel the book of scientific information must be reconsidered from all these standpoints, in the light of the broad exposure it is intended to give youth (as well as the masses of readers) to knowledge and comprehension of the

scientific values and current technical advances, encouraging their own participation in promotion and application of the new. First of all it must be understood that writing a book of scientific information is no minor matter. Academician Prof Ion Simionescu, a noted scientist and also a patron of popular science literature, pointed out in an interview published in ZIARUL STIINTELOR SI CALATORIILOR in 1937 that a good book of scientific information is much more difficult to write than a learned treatise or a novel because it must make the subject matter intelligible to all and as attractive as possible without vulgarizing or distorting it from the scientific point of view.

Moreover literature of this kind is represented by true masterpieces that have become classics of the genre. For example there is no question about the literary qualities, originality and fascinating interest of Darwin's scientific journal ("Voyage of a Naturalist Around the World Aboard the Ship Beagle"), the "zoological portraits" of Brehm, the "polar" adventures recounted by Racovita, or some more recent works like Albert Ducrocq's trilogy "Cybernetics and the Universe" ("The Story of Matter," "The Story of Life" and "The Story of Man"), Commander Cousteau's "World of Silence," Alexis Carrel's "Man, the Unknown" etc. Can such books be rated below volumes of reporting or travel notes? Yet the latter are accepted as belletristic without question and duly accorded all honors by the literary critics.

It is no accident that some books of scientific information are sold in bookstores in competition with the "Enigma" collection or love stories. They are the ones that take up interesting and very timely scientific and technical subjects and treat them in an original and attractive way, with a sound knowledge of what makes a book a publishing success. "The History of Numbers," "Enigmas of the Earth," "The Biosphere," "The Adventure of Genetics," "The Crucial Hours of Biology" and "101 Monuments of Nature" are a few of these books put out by our publishing houses in recent years which will carry on the best traditions of the genre.

But I think the above-mentioned reconsideration of books of this kind should begin with a general improvement in:

#### Quality of Books of Scientific Information

There are still many books written badly or in haste, devoid of style, and with obsolete data. The readers react sincerely and ruthlessly by ignoring these publications. And so many copies from the "Science for All" collection and some from the "Alpha" and "Crystal" collections ("The Fitter's Book" or "Cultivated Plants") pile up in the bookstores. Upon looking through them we can readily see why they are unpopular. Before venturing to treat subjects repeatedly discussed in the past, like "The Origin of Life," "Living Matter," "The Material Unity of the World," "Nuclear Energy," "Lasers," "Atoms, Ions and Molecules," "Plastics" etc., you must have either new material or an original approach to contribute. A book that rehashes the textbooks or summarizes the scientific treatises alienates the reader. The same allergic reactions are caused by a dry, cumbersome and pedantic style or a condescending, professorial tone.

We must recognize that we do not have many writers today of the stature of a Racovita or a Simionescu. But we cannot complain about quantity. A list of books of scientific information published in the last few years would include many titles and authors. But they are forgotten by the readers and scattered in library stocks, being regarded as "service" books with a rapidly depreciated content. Too little has been done to remedy these mediocrities, since the editors of the publishing houses are content to merely "cover" their plans with no consistent effort to attract more scientists or specialists with real literary talents or even writers with scientific interests who could produce books of high quality and prestige. I think it would be a good idea for publishing houses to form strong collectives of authors "specialized" in the "viewpoints" of the various collections, contributing directly and competently not only to the editing of books but also to the guidelines for this genre and plans for subject matter as close as possible to the current needs of scientific education of youth and the masses.

The general requirement for new quality in all socioeconomic activities unquestionably applies to the sector of books of scientific information, and first of all I think it calls for a higher conception of the genre based upon the modern interdisciplinary approach to the subject rather than a narrow treatment within the strict limits of a specialty. And second, it requires a bolder approach to some problems, only timidly discussed so far, of the borderline disciplines and to some fields in full development that stimulate keen interest in scientific creation by virtue of the innovations they bring. I also think more regular emphasis is needed on discussion and presentation of the peak achievements of technology and the most modern processes, even if they have not yet been introduced in Romania.

Appropriate treatment of the various subjects in this light requires a broad background on the part of the author, and the ability to distinguish and associate various disciplines in order to synthesize them in a book with extensive social, cultural, scientific and technical perceptions and implications. The literary-artistic qualities of the scientific exposition are a necessary additions to the foregoing requirements, because that is the only way to produce a book of scientific information of good quality that is lasting not only because of the value of its content but also because of its attractive presentation. To enhance the educational message of these books, it would be helpful for the publishing houses to arrange more frequent discussions with the readers of this kind of literature. Such discussions would bring out more strikingly the particular problems that arise in connection with books of scientific information as well as their appeal to the age groups and educational levels of the various categories of readers.

I think further improvement of the authors' craft and adequate encouragement of their efforts in this direction, possibly by instituting annual publishing competitions, are courses of action that will lead to reconsideration of the position of the book of scientific information in publishing as a whole and also to its greater educational effect upon the broadest categories of readers and especially upon youth.

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## ROMANIA

### REPORT ON WORLD PHILOSOPHY OF LAW CONFERENCE

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 20, 20 Oct 79 pp 50-51

[Article by George Basiliade: "Current Trends and Confrontations in the Philosophy of Law"]

[Text] Analysis of the new concepts maintained in contemporary law was the main subject of the Ninth World Congress on Philosophy of Law and Social Philosophy held between 27 August and 1 September 1979 in Basel. The broad scope of this international scientific meeting led to discussion of the various trends that have developed in current legal ideology, and in this respect the congress brought about a valuable change of views on social organization and the various interpretations of the concept of public order.

The discussions centered upon four main subjects, namely analytical concepts in law, eastern theories of law, Marxist theory of law, and the concept of natural law. From these viewpoints some working groups discussed, among other things, the relation between the legal norm and social reality, the fundamental moral and political norms of law, and a number of philosophical aspects of legal normativism.

On the basis of an evolutionist view of the individual and social organization, the general report opening the congress introduced the concept of "jurisculture" to explain the development of law, a theoretical hybrid of a biological and a social-philosophical perception of an anthropocentric kind. According to the report, Homo sapiens is a higher form of human evolution equipped with an intelligence resulting from successive accumulations and with great flexibility of behavior who has acquired by cultural means the ability to record and evaluate the results of certain activities and to prevent destructive actions endangering himself and the community in which he lives. In the view of the author of the opening report of the congress, Homo sapiens thus becomes an entity resulting from a predominantly biological determinism, to which entity are subordinated not only human evolution but also the entirety of social relations and superstructural forms of society, among which the legal and moral order of the various types of community organization plays a major role. The underestimate of socioeconomic causality in explaining man's development and the fact that

he is the product of social relations that shape his distinctive characteristics and explain his entire evolution led to an inconsistent and unconvincing explanation of the changes in legal attitudes and ideology.

This narrow view also characterized the approach to the problems of the various kinds of institutions, norms and procedures to be adopted to protect the social order and to provide for the organization and operation of the social system and consequently the legal system. The law would or should be consensual in any kind of society, regardless of the nature of the social relations that characterize it and the internal forces they generate.

Evasion of the class character of the legal norms and the fact that the legal superstructure is always in conflict in societies with a social stratification based on antagonistic economic and political interests led to implicit denial of the legitimacy of any efforts toward radical reform of the existing social and legal system except through the constant capacity of Homo sapiens to create and modify what the author of the report calls the "jurisculture." He accordingly resorts to a formula frequently found in the social sciences in the West, namely shifting the problem from the area of the social to that of the "cultural" and the forms of culture, with all the ambiguity of this term in Western philosophy, sociology and cultural anthropology. Relations between people are transformed into relations between individuals or communities, on the one hand, certain types of culture on the other, which relations determine various concepts of law and justice. According to this theory every culture is valid for all those who believe in its attributes, and this belief lends it an authenticity giving rise to the right to govern cooperative relations according to the convictions and beliefs of the respective individuals. But no one has the right to impose a prescriptive social and legal order upon those who disagree with the convictions and beliefs on which this order is based. General acceptance of this position would open the way to organization (pacification) of the relations between "different political entities composed of persons united by a certain cultural identity."

This view is closely related to a political ideology giving rise to a legal ideology subject to attempts to convert some aspects of the social reality of the present capitalist world to intercultural relations instead of class conflicts. Taking an idyllic view of the social harmony implied by the "jurisculture" of the modern world, it advocates a kind of pluralism based on references to various types of culture and evades the very essence of the law, namely the fact that it represents in particular forms the will of the ruling class established as the will of the state and protected by a specialized coercive system.

The discussions of the reports concerning various analytical concepts present in contemporary law pointed out the value of law as a means of harmonizing economic interests primarily in the field of international affairs. In these views the legal norms should be subordinated to a socioeconomic pragmatism imposed by the increasingly evident effort to develop sciences and consequently technologies and to globalize economics. The idea of homogenizing the legal norms was associated with the necessity of international economic collaboration, but some representatives of the socialist countries pointed out that any

such homogenizing must be governed by a clear idea of the new international economic order, wherein the law not only facilitates exchanges but also enforces national sovereignty and independence and every state's right to its natural resources and the gains of the technical-scientific revolution and guarantees the mutual benefit from complementary economic interests.

The representatives of the socialist countries unquestionably presented the most logically coherent theory to explain the evolution of the state and law. The uniformity of their views did not preclude making some points illustrating the various contributions each of the socialist states has been making to the revolutionary conception of law and society entertained by the working class and its leading party. In presenting the main guidelines of this conception, they restated the class character of the legal norms, the nature of the law as the will of a class transformed into the will of the state, and the way the latter becomes the will of the entire people in a developed socialist society. Under these circumstances the law can no longer be limited to its regulatory function and its social effectiveness must be considered, in the sense of effective defense of the interests of the people as a whole and of every individual.

It was pointed out in the discussions that in the present stage of development of socialist society the role of the state and the law is gaining in importance but this emphasis on their organizational function does not invalidate the principle of their gradual disappearance with the advance toward communist society because the latter is achieved through intensification, development and improvement of socialist democracy. Socialist law becomes more and more a manifestation of the general will, contributing to the development of the individual and collective awareness and leading, as a result of socioeconomic development, to forms of social self-administration wherein the collective mechanisms for regulating and harmonizing interhuman relations, based on forms of moral constraint, become predominant and later exclusive.

The RCP's conception of the growing role of the state and the law in the socioeconomic development of socialist society in Romania was explained in the light of this theoretical approach, confirmed by the social-historical development of the socialist states, bringing out the way the revolutionary elements of the political ideology are reflected in the legal ideology and in constructive law. On this basis it was maintained that the definition of socialist law must be enhanced by emphasizing as points of reference the distinctive features of its legal norms not only in relation to other kinds of norms but also in relation to the particular historical and social development of a state as a result of its national traditions and customs and all that makes it a distinct, sovereign and independent entity in relation to other states. It was pointed out as a logical consequence that the definition of the law must include some axiological criteria indicative not only of the common values of socialist civilization but also of the forms these norms take as a result of reflecting the nature of the historical, social-political, economic and cultural development of each socialist country.

The Romanian conception of the role and functions of the state and the characteristics of the law in the present stage of our society's development, as well as the way in which this political ideology is converted as a social necessity to legal ideology, were also evaluated and supported by some representatives of other states.

SCIENTIFIC SESSIONS, REPORTS CRITICIZED

Bucharest FRA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 20, 20 Oct 79 p 51

[Article by Andrei Sida: "Qualitative Standards for Organizing Scientific Sessions"]

[Text] The interest taken in science and the research output in the last few years is quite justified and natural in view of the two related points in the party's policy on this subject, namely further improvement of the cultural, scientific, educational and professional standards of the masses and the labor force employed in any activity, and democratization of science in the twofold meaning of the latter as science for man and social progress and welfare, and science as a field open to the contribution of every individual and the unrestricted assertion of his capacity for knowledge and creation.

The following considerations, which are not intended to be dogmatic and have no claims to general or absolute validity, are based upon evaluation and observation from experience with "scientific report sessions," especially in view of their increasingly high frequency in our recent intellectual life. Since I am referring to the meetings in the field of the social sciences alone, we cannot fail to realize that the many scientific sessions have enhanced the heritage of values with new theories, data, solutions and conclusions of true authenticity and scientific authority and have occasioned useful and stimulating exchanges of ideas, discussions and comparisons of opinions, and that the volumes of proceedings of some sessions are most often valuable reference documents for information on the progress made in investigating the various social-political problems.

But the reverse is also true. We often find that many organizers and even specialized institutions are very fond of the high designation "scientific session," with which they more and more insistently dignify the cultural-educational activities dedicated to festivities. This results in a sometimes exaggerated and abusive proliferation at the expense not only of the audience (often assembled for the occasion on the principle that "the hall must be filled") but also of the subject matter of this particular form of exploitation of the scientific output and the actual possibilities of duly observing its standards. It is far

from my intention to suggest in this way that the "session" or "scientific report" should be the sole prerogative of the researcher and the professional or strictly specialized audience. But we are in favor of more discrimination in organizing and maintaining this kind of activity. It is no advantage to anyone to dilute the real significance a "scientific session" or a "scientific report" should have as distinguished from many other such media of scientific knowledge as information, symposiums, speeches, conferences, lectures etc.

Many a time we have had to put up with reports (not only of novices but also of learned professionals) that imparted nothing, with readings of materials with a pronounced pedantic or didactic tone in "reports" consisting of compiled texts in which the whole secret of the innovation consisted of finding two or three sources from which strings of quotations were extracted as supreme and decisive arguments for the investigated truth, and with reports and sessions wherein weak and haphazard contributory ideas barely emerged. Or on the other hand there are cases where studies on a high scientific level are not received at their true value because of an audience that is large but uninformed at some times or informed but sadly limited at other times.

I do not allow myself to define for anyone the concept of "scientific report," since it is well known that its requirements emphasize the author's personal contribution to the body of knowledge of the subject field. But what requires discussion is the definition of the content of this contribution. To be sure it would be too much to expect of every report that it contribute a new discovery of unquestionable originality, but we do not think we should go to the other extreme of attributing scientific authority to any effort proposed or presented with this intention unless it displays at least some elements of a real contribution (if only in such respects as viewing the investigated problem from a certain standpoint, methodological perspective or new perceptions of some implications and connections of the phenomena, bringing new arguments to the hypotheses under consideration etc.) giving rise to a bolder and more effective approach to the emerging reality. It should also be noted that the novelty or contribution may often be only apparent, as a result of speculative procedures, metaphorical emphases, or poverty of ideas. The contribution or rather the "aggressiveness" of a report can be readily falsified if, intentionally or not, a false problem is set up as a premise for the investigative and reporting procedures.

I do not wish to antagonize the organizers of future scientific sessions, but we must reconsider quantity in favor of quality with a critical and self-critical approach to the problem.

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